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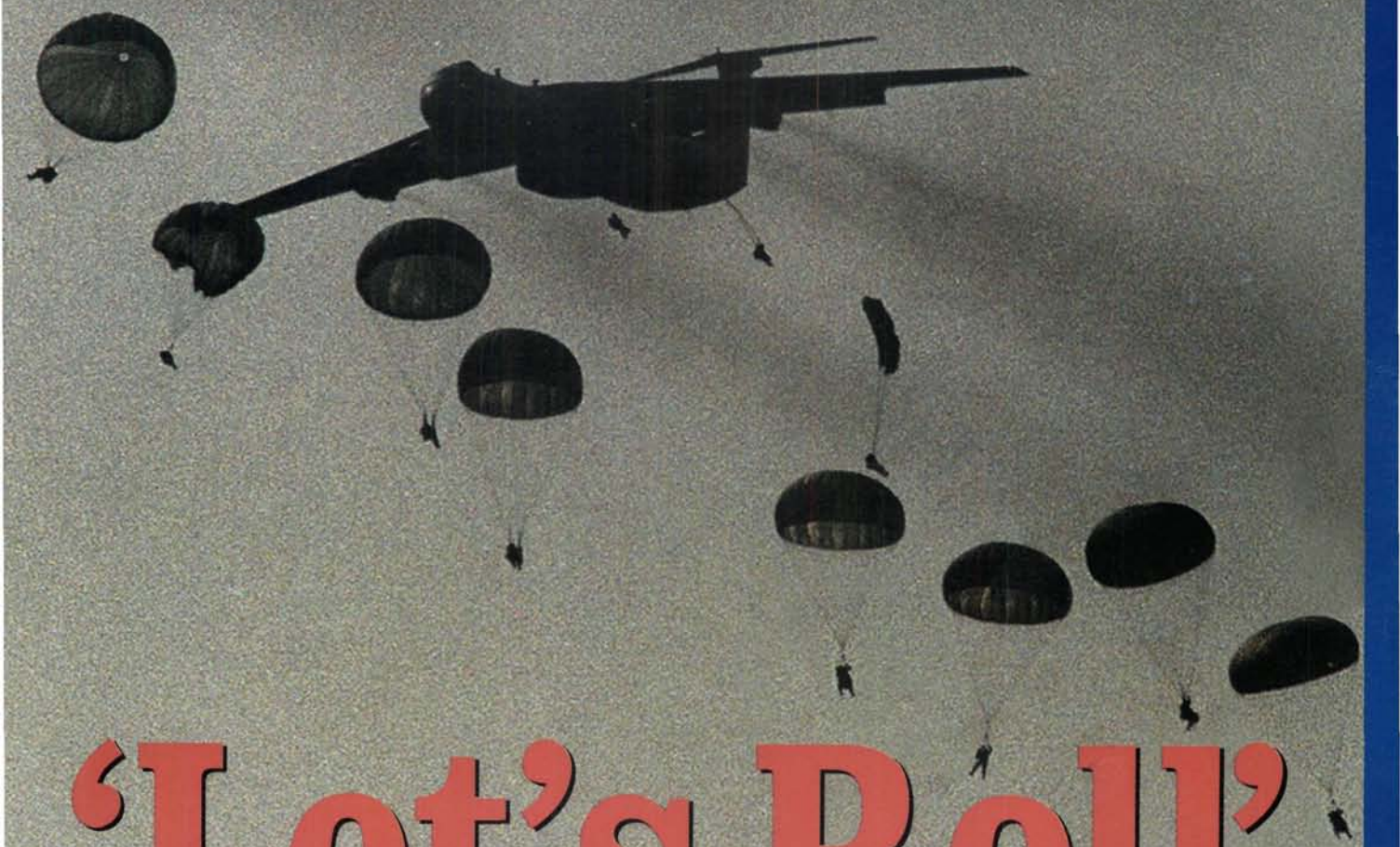

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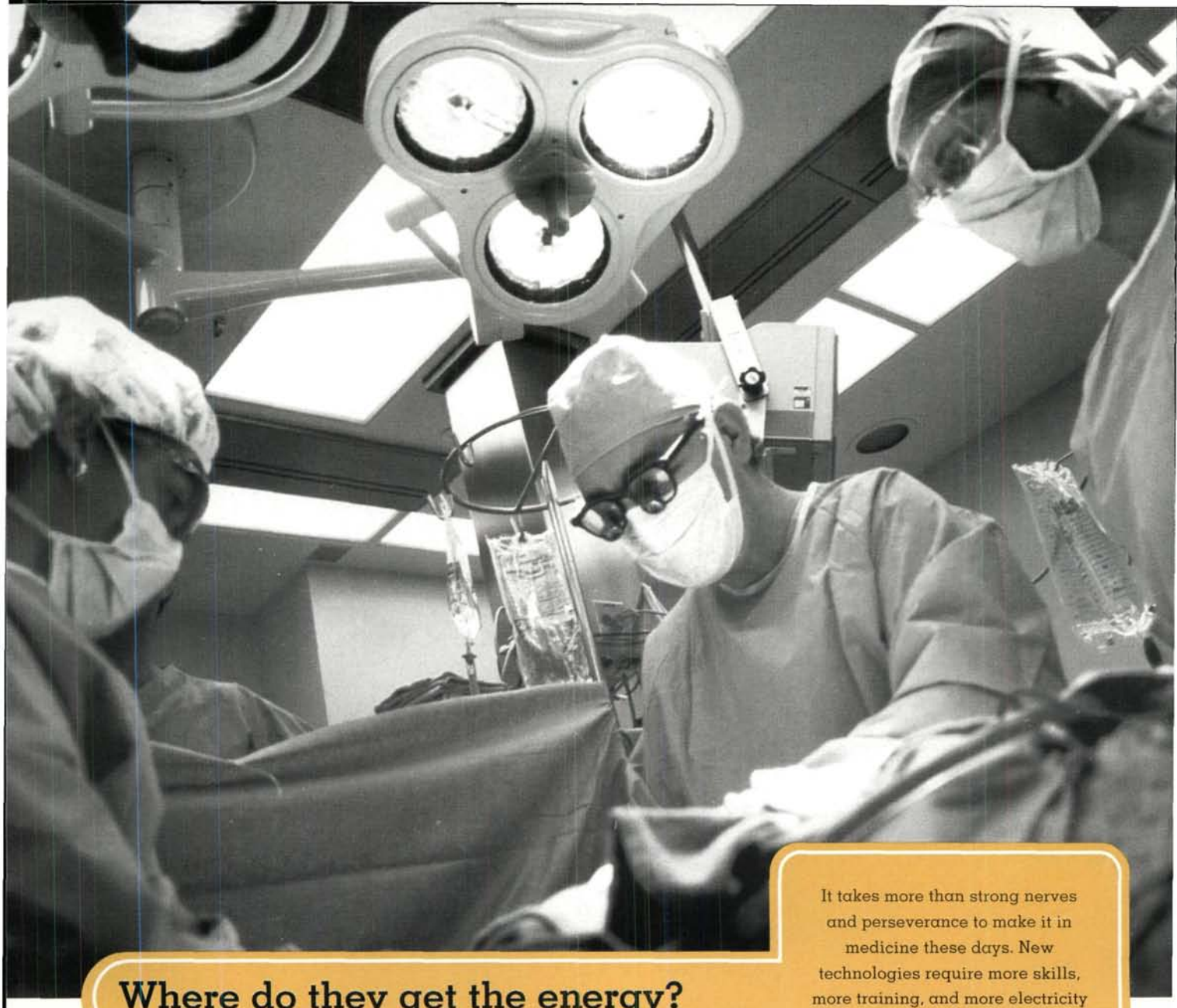

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ LETTERS ■

THE NEW WAR . . .

The Oct. 1 issue is excellent. The articles about the attack, what it means, and how to handle it are superb.

President Bush subscribes, right?

Joni L. Paladino
Brockway, Pa.

I am a Chicago firefighter and a proud member of the brotherhood and family that is the fire service.

As Americans relive over and over the horror of September 11, thoughts tend to focus on firefighters, policemen, paramedics, and civilians, and what their last moments must have been like. As death claimed them, they moved on to an eternal life that is devoid of evil and treachery. As for the perpetrators, they awakened expecting a hero's welcome, but found they had committed their souls to the true Great Satan that they claimed was America.

James E. McNally
Chicago, Ill.

I was in the service during World War II. On D-Day, a captain entered our office and announced, "The invasion has begun. Anybody here who knows how to pray, get over to the chapel." We had our priorities straight in those days. Nobody caterwauled about separation of church and state or political correctness. We won that war and we will win this one.

Lola Perrins
Big Timber, Mont.

The real question of September 11 is: How do you convert a whole generation of Americans to belief in making the supreme sacrifice for freedom?

Our culture of self-indulgence, consumerism, and individualism is incompatible with hardship. These terrorists knew the value of sacrifice and practiced it even unto death.

Peter J. Riga
Houston, Tex.

Both the Republicans and the Democrats advocate intervention. Someday the people may see the wisdom of the libertarian position that we should avoid foreign entanglements.

James W. Phelps
Aurora, Colo.

. . . AND TWO OLD ONES

Stephen Schwartz, in his piece "Killing the Messenger" (Sept. 3), makes an erroneous assumption about the tolerance of Islam when he writes that "the legacy of this mainstream, moderate tradition includes . . . the Ottoman Empire, in . . . which Jews and Christians flourished under Muslim authority."

After sacking Constantinople, the Ottoman Turks went about wiping out all traces of Christian and Greek culture. The issue of Judaic-Muslim rapprochement is a valuable one, but the Ottoman Empire is not an example of Muslim moderation.

Peter K. Antipas
Stamford, Conn.

STEPHEN SCHWARTZ REPLIES: *Mr. Antipas is mistaken. The head of the Greek Orthodox Church remains in Istanbul to this day; the Orthodox churches continued to minister to Christians in the Balkans, Turkey, and the Mideast throughout the history of the Ottoman Empire.*

In Jeffrey Hart's "Abandoned Ship" (Aug. 20), he continues to blame Pearl Harbor on the "Navy's failure to be intelligent." Pearl Harbor was the result of a conspiracy to engage us in WW II that FDR set up at the urging of Churchill. Our intelligence had broken the Japanese code and knew about the coming invasion.

Read all about it in *Day of Deceit* by Robert B. Stinnett (Free Press). You would do your readers a great service by reviewing this book.

Rev. Harrison A. Gruenler
Columbus, Ohio

JEFFREY HART REPLIES: *It might be a service to our readers to review this awful book as destructively as possible to extinguish this nonsense. No reputable historian, not Gordon Prange* (At Dawn We Slept), *not John Keegan writing on World War II, agrees. Our Navy believed the Japanese would head south to the rubber and oil they needed. Instead Yamamoto wanted to protect his flank and hit Pearl.*

Anyone who believes the U.S. was willing to lose half the Pacific Fleet to jolt the nation into war will believe absolutely anything.

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■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ President **Bush**'s Familiar Quotations: "We will lead the world to victory." . . . In lower Manhattan, among rescue workers: "I can hear you. The rest of the world hears you. And the people who knocked these buildings down will hear all of us soon." . . . In address to Congress: "Whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done." . . . "We have seen their kind before. They're the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism, Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies." . . . "I will not yield, I will not rest, I will not relent." . . . In meeting with senators, according to *Newsweek*: "When I take action, I'm not going to fire a $2 million missile at a $10 empty tent and hit a camel in the butt. It's going to be decisive." . . . Presidential schedule, formerly released to public in advance, kept secret until morning of each day.

■ Defense secretary **Donald Rumsfeld**: "It's not a matter of a single event. We're talking about a very broadly based campaign to go after the terrorist problem where it exists, and it exists in countries across the globe. . . . Therefore, it will not be quick and it will not be easy." . . . Deputy defense secretary **Paul Wolfowitz**: "It's not just simply a matter of capturing people and holding them accountable, but of removing the sanctuaries, removing the support systems, ending states that sponsor terrorism." . . . Secretary of state **Colin Powell**: "If there are states and regimes, nations, that support terrorism, we hope to persuade them that it is in their interest to stop doing that. But I think 'ending terrorism' is where I would leave it and let Mr. Wolfowitz speak for himself."

■ **Todd Beamer**, passenger on United Airlines Flight 93, before challenging hijackers somewhere over Pennsylvania: "Are you guys ready? Let's roll." . . . Libyan-born **Yasir El-Maghrbi** on day of U.S. naturalization, in *Washington Post*: "I'll fight whatever fight against people who want to destroy the system we have in the United States." . . . Stocks lose $1.4 trillion in value in first week of trading after attacks. . . . "No matter how long it takes," said President **Clinton** in 1998, "or where it takes us, we will pursue terrorists until the cases are solved and justice is done." . . . "Clearly, not enough was done," says Clinton administration's deputy attorney general **Jamie Gorelick**, in *Boston Globe*. "We should have caught this. Why this happened, I don't know. Responsibilities were given out. Resources were given. Authorities existed. We should have prevented this." . . . **Nancy Soderberg** of Clinton's National Security Council: "In hindsight, it wasn't enough, and anyone involved in policy would have to admit that."

"Another *fundraiser?*"

■ Rep. **Barbara Lee** (D., Calif.) after casting sole vote in House of Representatives against authorizing use of force: "I'm just as American and just as patriotic as anybody else." . . . Conspiracy theorist **John Lahr** of *The New Yorker*, in *Slate*: "Isn't it odd that on the day—the DAY—that the Democrats launched their most blistering attack on 'the absolute lunacy' of Bush's unproven missile-defense system . . . that the rogue nation should suddenly become such a terrifying reality." . . . **Joel Rogers** in *The Nation*: "Our own government, through much of the past fifty years, has been the world's leading 'rogue state.'" . . . **Susan Sontag**, in *The New Yorker*: "The voices licensed to follow the event seem to have joined together in a campaign to infantilize the public. Where is the acknowledgment that this was not a 'cowardly' attack on 'civilization' or 'liberty' or 'humanity' or 'the free world' but an attack on the world's self-proclaimed superpower, undertaken as a consequence of specific American alliances and actions?". . . **Jesse Jackson**, quoted by **Tony Snow** on Fox News: "A police state is closing in with the suspension of civil liberties."

■ Tax activist **Grover Norquist** forms coalition to protect civil liberties, tells *Boston Globe*: "We don't like bad guys either, but let's not sacrifice our freedoms because the FBI and CIA want more power." . . . Stanford University's **Michael McFaul** on learning former colleague and current national security adviser **Condoleezza Rice** opposes gun control and gun registration because **Bull Connor** could have used it to disarm her father and other blacks in 1960s: "For me as a liberal, pro-gun-control person, it really hit me over the head," he tells *Washington Post*. "I remember thinking, 'Who are we as white liberals to respond?'"

■ "Whatever the technical or legal issues about a declaration of war," says British prime minister **Tony Blair**, "the fact is we are at war with terrorism." . . . Cuba's **Fidel Castro**, in *Toronto Star*: "These tragedies are a consequence of having applied terrorist methods against Cuba for many years, and in the case of other countries because they have spread the idea of terrorism." . . . Afghanistan's Taliban leader Mullah **Mohammad Omar**: "We want America to gather complete information and find the real culprits."

■ **Dan Rather** on Bush's saying he wants **Osama bin Laden** "dead or alive," during appearance on **David Letterman**'s *Late Show*: "He was Giuliani-esque." **NR**

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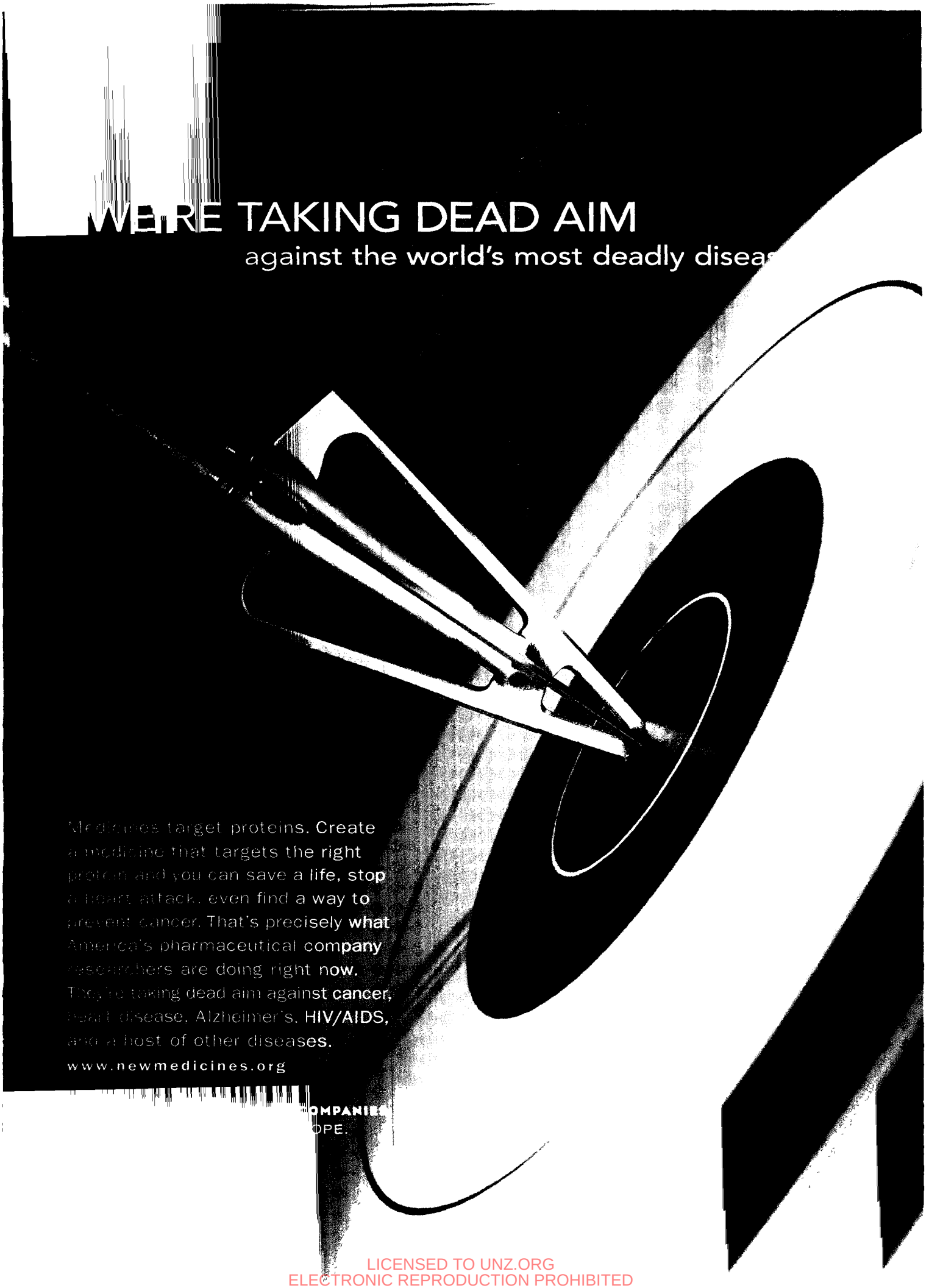

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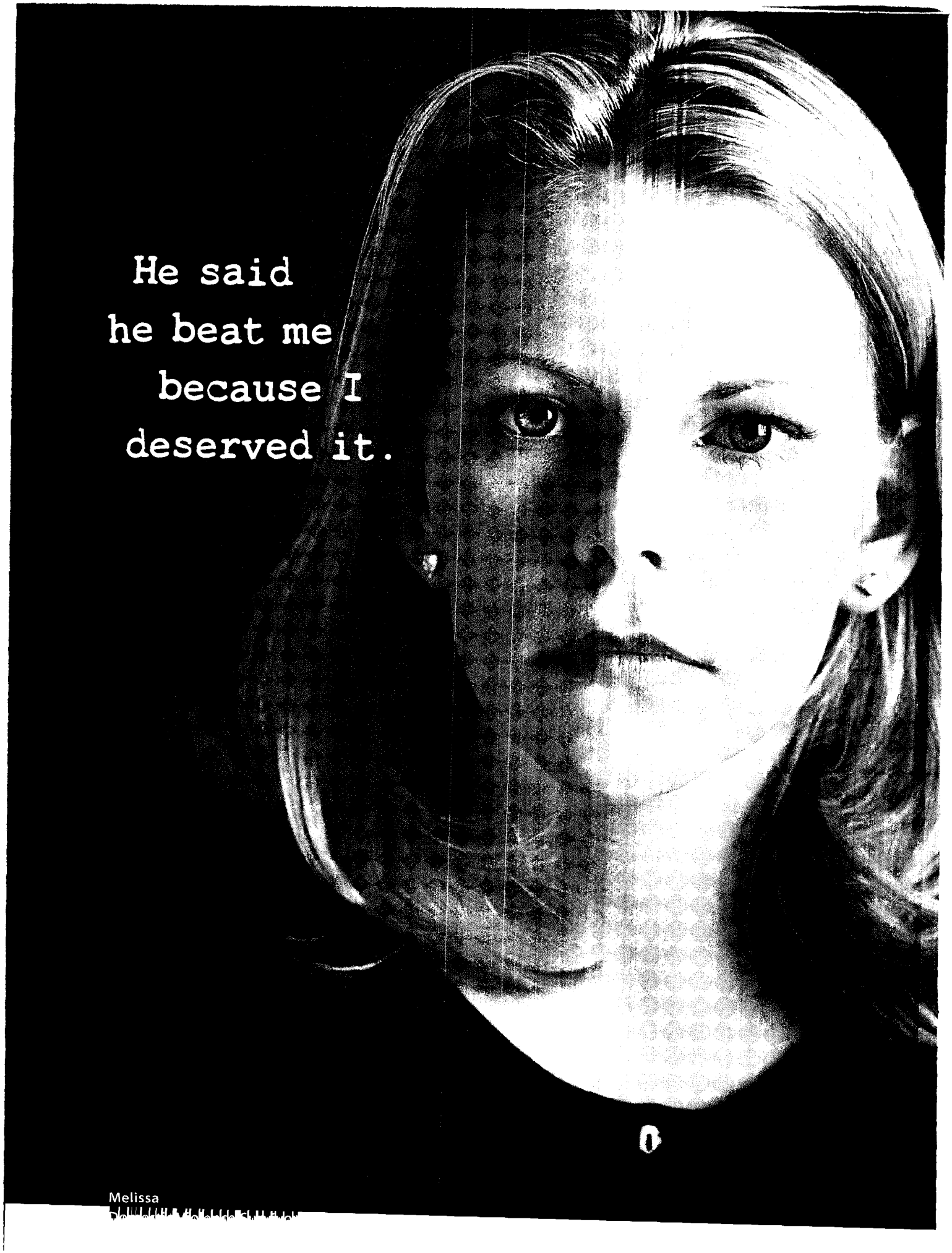

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HELPING END DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

"He tried to strangle me last night."

Melissa cried as she wrote these words, eight months pregnant and seeking an order of protection from her husband. Their high school romance had seemed like a fairy tale, but when the honeymoon ended, the beatings began. Terrified, she hid her abuse from family and friends. Once she was finally free from her abusive husband, Melissa began to share her story with other young women, so they would know that no one should live with domestic violence.

Now I know I deserve better.

Too often, society blames victims of domestic violence for not leaving, rather than holding the abusers responsible. The reality is that fear, financial dependency and concern for the children can make the idea of leaving seem impossible. No one deserves to be abused. And everyone should have someone to turn to. With your support, domestic violence programs across America can offer hope and new beginnings. Just ask Melissa.

Recently, we have all seen the devastating effects of violence on our country, and the power of communities that unite to help those in need. If domestic violence is affecting you or someone you know, or if you'd like to make a contribution, contact:

National Domestic Violence Hotline
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(800) 787-3224 (TTY)
www.ndvh.org

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THE WEEK

■ The war, we are told, will require cold-bloodedness, deception, and the black arts. Fear not: Rep. Gary Condit (D., Calif.) has been appointed to the newly formed Subcommittee on Terrorism and Homeland Security.

■ When they reopened, the markets proceeded to fall by a larger percentage than in any other week since 1933. More than a trillion dollars of wealth was wiped out. Unemployment is rising. The war is scrambling business plans; it will probably cause large investments, and purchases, to be deferred. Now would be a good time for an economic-growth package. Yet Republicans are dithering. They should keep in mind the alternative. Now that the Social Security "lockbox" has been picked, the extra billions will be used. If Republicans do not use them to finance pro-growth tax cuts, Democrats will push for their own wish list: An expansion of Medicaid. Larger, and longer-lasting, unemployment benefits. A minimum-wage boost. Republicans should take these government-expanding, economically harmful ideas off the table with an agenda of their own. The capital-gains tax should be cut, permanently. Pending reductions in income-tax rates should be sped up. Business should get tax cuts, too. And Congress should make it easier for President Bush to negotiate free-trade deals. If Democrats demand tax rebates for low-income workers as the price for speedy passage of growth legislation, Republicans should make a deal. The most important thing the government can do to help the economy is to start winning the war. But economic policy can do its part, too.

■ A week and a half into the crisis of his city, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani alluded to the secret of his leadership. In one of the dozens of press conferences he has held since the disaster struck, he was discussing whether New Yorkers would begin to resume their normal routines. "Hundreds of people," he said, had told him they wanted to do just that. He was telling the truth—but not the whole truth. Hundreds of people had told him that, because he had been telling millions of people what he knew and didn't know, what they could and couldn't do. Inspiring, informing, stoically grieving, the mayor spoke to the best in every New Yorker—and then, having helped to draw the best forth, pretended that it had come to him unbidden. This tough, odd, and sometimes limited man leaves office on the highest of high notes.

■ The anti-terrorism bill before Congress contains several useful, indeed overdue, provisions. It would enable the Justice Department to detain aliens suspected of breaking the law for 48 hours or, in emergencies, longer, before charging them with a crime; the current rule allows for only 24 hours. The bill would also allow "roving wiretaps": Instead of requiring a new authorization every time a suspect switches phones, a wiretap could be authorized for any phone call a suspect makes from any phone. But the bill is much too broad. As Dave Kopel has pointed out on National Review Online, its definition of terrorism includes throwing a rock through a post-office window and vandalizing a sign outside the building of a dictatorial government (such as the Embassy of Sudan). Such offenses should be punished, but not subject to the same penalties as actual terrorism. In addition, some of the expanded law-enforcement powers would apply not only to terrorism, even broadly defined, but to drug and other offenses. The bill is being sold as an emergency measure. But it is not temporary: There is no provision for the expanded governmental powers in the bill to lapse after a few years. Congress should pass a stripped-down bill, one narrowly designed to reduce terrorist threats.

■ There was a plausible case for bailing out the airlines: The federal government had shut them down, after all, and an act of war had made their futures precarious. Congress was clearly right to limit the airlines' liability for losses suffered because of the attacks. But Congress is also giving the airlines subsidies—including $5 billion in direct grants—that will encourage other claimants to line up on Capitol Hill. Already travel agents, airline workers, the insurance industry, and Amtrak are asking for handouts. Ronald Utt of the Heritage Foundation had a better idea: The government could have bought $5 billion worth of prepaid tickets for use in future federal business travel. Airlines would have gotten needed funds without any corporate welfare. But the bill has already become law. What should Washington do the next time the airlines have trouble? Approve their merger requests rapidly. Allow the private sector to expand airport capacity. And lighten the tax and regulatory load on business generally.

■ Federal involvement in airport security may also increase. The whole system needs an upgrade, starting with the untrained and poorly paid mall cops currently in charge of passenger screening. But don't expect too much of safety regulations. Taken too far, they end up making planes safer mainly in the sense that terrorists can't hijack jets that don't take off because they're chronically underbooked. If air travel becomes too inconvenient, the bailout just passed will be only the first of many. Already there are signs of regulatory overreach. The indefinite closing of Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport is one. None of the hijackers boarded planes from there, and a nearby airport that admitted hijackers targeting the Pentagon—Dulles International

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Does Good Business Equal Good Schools?

John E. Chubb is chief education officer, Edison Schools; distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution; and member, Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.

For more than a decade education policymakers have been convinced that improvements in student achievement depend on comprehensive improvements in schools. The key to greater learning is a not a new reading or math program or having the Internet in every classroom. Learning depends on quality instruction aimed at high standards and attentive to the needs of all students.

Quality instruction is no simple matter. It begins with knowing how to manage a classroom that likely includes a diverse group of students. It continues with knowing what should be taught and how best to teach it. Schools must organize themselves explicitly to set high academic standards, to help teachers with challenging material, and to help students succeed. **Great schools have every element of an effective organization in place, from training to assessment to supervision.**

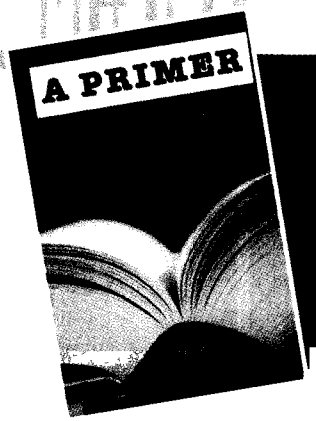
During the 1990s policymakers took a number of initiatives to promote "comprehensive school reform." The Bush administration created the New American Schools Development Corporation to support research into comprehensive school models, such as Modern Red Schoolhouse and Roots and Wings. Congress authorized monies for Title 1 schools that wished to adopt "whole school reform" models. The record of these models in boosting student achievement is mixed. But the disappointments have more to do with the implementation of the models than with the models themselves.

Privatization could advance the accomplishments of school reform dramatically. School reform has foundered over two obstacles. One is money. It can be expensive to make comprehensive changes at a school. A typical school receives money for new curriculum in one major subject area every two years. It receives money to pay for two or three days of teacher training annually. Money for widespread change does not exist, unless it can be raised from a philanthropic grant program or a local bond issue. These are tough ways to spur reform. Businesses, however, could fund comprehensive reform with investment dollars. Edison Schools, for example, invests about $1.5 million in the start-up of each of its schools, earning money back through the course of its contract with its public education client. This money ensures that Edison's comprehensive reform model is launched as effectively as possible. Other firms could bring this advantage to public education as well.

Businesses can also help schools overcome the "buy-in" problem. Comprehensive reform requires the enthusiastic assent and long-term cooperation of every teacher and administrator in the school in which the reform is being pursued. Without this buy-in, the reform breaks down. Teachers begin closing their doors and doing their own thing. Public schools struggle with the buy-in problem for many reasons, not the least of which is that teachers and administrators have rights as public employees and need only cooperate with reform so far. **Being free from the constraints of traditional school systems, however, businesses can reconstitute public schools with teachers and administrators who want to do something different.** Firms have the ability to manage the school toward implementing a contractual reform model that will lead to improved academic results.

— John E. Chubb

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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Airport, in Virginia—remains open for business. There's a balance to be struck here, and the authorities don't appear to be finding it.

■ Yasser Arafat has long played a double game, with striking success. He says one thing in English, to the West, and another—much different—thing in Arabic, to his followers in the streets and in the mosques. For example, he welcomed the Oslo "peace process" in the one tongue, and in the other reassured his people that it was all "incrementalism," with the goal of Israel's destruction unchanged. Following the September 11 attacks, he staged a photo-op in which he gave blood, claiming to be doing his bit to help the American wounded. At the same time, his official news organ—in Arabic, of course—was praising the terrorists as "noble," "the salt of the earth," "the engines of history," and "the most honorable among us." In one breath, we are told that Arafat has no control over the suicide bombers and others who commit terror in Israel. In another, we are told that the Israeli government *must* sit down with Arafat so as to stop this terror. Well, if he has no control . . .

■ Overnight, the anti-globalization movement has turned into an antiwar movement. When the annual meeting of the World Bank and IMF was canceled because of the attacks, the leftists who had planned to protest the meeting did not follow suit; they decided to protest the war instead. The teach-ins have begun. Martin Sheen and other "entertainer/activists" have signed a letter warning that a military response to the attacks would only "spark a cycle of escalating violence." A facile and ignorant economics has been replaced by a facile and ignorant geopolitics. While these peaceniks bear watching, their numbers are now too small to impede the war effort. What they are more likely to do is further discredit the American Left. When a movement goes from opposing American economic strength to opposing American self-defense in the blink of an eye, people can hardly be blamed for concluding that it is not so much "anti-globalization" or "antiwar" as it is anti-American.

■ "Frenzied protesters in Peshawar set fire to the American flag, then ripped it apart and ate the smoldering remnants yesterday," went the report from Pakistan on September 20. Supposing this disgraceful behavior had occurred on U.S. soil, would it have been covered by the Flag-burning Amendment? Or do we need a new initiative: a Flag-*eating* Amendment?

■ Then again, maybe the crowd was just hungry.

■ The G-word has gotten a good workout recently, as politicians pray in their speeches, ordinary Americans pray in public, and New Yorkers (even New Yorkers!) pray at impromptu sidewalk shrines. This turn to the Father is childlike—and rightly so, if humility is the source of wisdom. Greater even than wisdom is the confidence that God hears all earnest prayers, and answers them, in ways we may not foresee. Bismarck supposedly said that God looks after fools, drunkards, and the United States—a very worldly wisecrack. God looks after no one drunk on his own folly. Let us pray.

■ "These men are fighting the first battle," Rudy Giuliani declared. "These are the men who will fight our wars," President Bush echoed during his visit to lower Manhattan. The mayor and the president weren't inspired by the city's "fire*fighters*"; they were talking about the fire*men* who raced into the burning towers that Tuesday morning, and their exhausted, bloodied brothers who desperately searched the wreckage for a miracle. Despite determined efforts to integrate women into New York's fire department over the past 20 years, there are only 36 women in the 11,000-member force. A federal judge found in 1982 that the department's physical test improperly discriminated against women (upper-body strength being largely "irrelevant" to firefighting), and ordered the department to water down its requirements. The department fought back in court. So while the test was modified, it remains sufficiently demanding that more than 40 percent of male applicants fail. The contrast to the armed services is striking. They simply surrendered to feminist demands, adopting gender-normed scoring on physical tests and enlistment quotas to boost the number of women in the ranks. How to explain the difference? For the military, equal opportunity was able to trump combat effectiveness in the lull of peacetime. For the firemen of New York, there is never peacetime.

■ At first glance, it couldn't have been more heartwarming. Hollywood's aristocracy dropped everything to help in the recovery effort. Al Pacino, Tom Cruise, Goldie Hawn, Adam Sandler, and many others manned the phones to take pledges during a two-hour "telethon" that raised a staggering $150 million. What will be done with that money remains murkily undisclosed. The United Way will administer it "appropriately." But there's a hint as to where the money might be followed—and as to why so many hardcore Hollywood liberals joined the effort in the first place—in another benefit effort. More than 75 celebrities gathered in Los Angeles on September 23 to record a version of the 1979 Sister Sledge hit "We Are Family." Proceeds from album sales will go to "the responsible outreach and educational work of credible, non-political, not-for-profit organizations that promote tolerance, combat misfortune, and defend the freedoms of all Americans." The ACLU can get out its tin cup.

■ Oakland hip-hop band The Coup—whose oeuvre includes such titles as "Kill My Landlord" and "5 Million Ways to Kill a CEO"—was widely criticized for a future album whose cover had featured an exploding Twin Towers, with bandleader Boots Riley wielding a detonator in the foreground. Riley was quick to apologize: "The original intent of the cover was to use the World Trade Center to symbolize capitalism and was not supposed to be realistic in its depiction." We're glad Riley knows his history well enough to understand that the overthrow of capitalism has never meant anything but peace and plenty for all.

■ Since we are indeed in a war, what are we going to call it?

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Every war must have a name. In modern times, there has been a tendency to dull literalness in this matter, relying mainly on simple geography: the Gulf War, the Vietnam War, the Korean War. It doesn't have to be this way. History is replete with more imaginatively named conflicts: the War of the Three Henrys (France, 1585–1589), the War of Jenkins' Ear (England vs. Spain, 1739–48), the War of the Oranges (Spain vs. Portugal, 1801), the Soccer War (El Salvador vs. Honduras, 1969), and the Codfish War (U.K. vs. Iceland, 1975). At least until the geographical scope of the administration's plans becomes clear, and with no disrespect intended to those who perished in the other two hijackings, we suggest that the present engagement be named after its first and surely most memorable casualties: the Twin Towers War.

■ As the term-limited hero mayor prepares to step down, who will assume the task of rebuilding New York? The Democratic primary is tantamount to election—especially since the Republican primary winner, Michael Bloomberg, is an ignorant egotist with zero experience. Unfortunately, the Democratic primary field was itself dwarfish, a collection of liberal career pols. Since the winner did not get 40 percent of the vote, the top two will face each other in a runoff. Mark Green is a one-time Nader Raider who may have learned something. He had the endorsement of the catastrophic David Dinkins, but also of the excellent William Bratton, Giuliani's first police commissioner. His opponent, Fernando Ferrer, ran sharply to the left, campaigning with the lethal race-baiter Al Sharpton. The prospects for leadership are dismal.

■ Among the news items swamped by the horrors of September 11 was a victory for Iain Duncan Smith in the contest for leadership of Britain's Conservative party. In his victory speech, Duncan Smith pledged that his party would stand "shoulder to shoulder" with the Blair government in support of the United States. The new Tory leader has had some intimate experience of terrorism: He saw active duty in Northern Ireland as an officer in the elite Scots Guard regiment. He holds traditionally conservative views on such subjects as abortion, capital punishment, and gays in the military. On Europe, the most divisive issue among British Conservatives, he is a skeptic, much more likely to fight for British sovereignty against the bureaucrats of Brussels than was his opponent in the leadership election, Europhile Kenneth Clarke. Since Duncan Smith won 61 percent of the vote among party members, it is not very probable that NATIONAL REVIEW's endorsement ("The Week," Sept. 17) was crucial in pushing him over the top, but we offer him our continued support in any case, and welcome him to the ranks of conservative leadership.

■ For almost a decade, the Pentagon's top intelligence analyst for Cuba was also a spy for Cuba. She had access to everything—satellite imagery, communications intercepts, human sources (i.e., real people, risking their lives for freedom)—and she gave away everything, to Castro. Now that she has been caught, the question is what to do with her, with Ana Belen Montes. If she were executed, that might well cause her fellow enemy agents and their successors to think twice. Perhaps they, too, should risk their lives.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The next issue of NATIONAL REVIEW will appear in three weeks.

■ Isaac Stern was a fine violinist and all-around American figure. He was the one more responsible than anyone else for saving Carnegie Hall from the wrecker's ball 40 years ago. He was a stalwart friend to Israel, memorably playing there in a gas mask during the Gulf War. He was a humorous man, with an enthusiasm for life. He adored tennis and played it vigorously, despite his girth. Performing with people seated on the stage behind him, he turned around and said, "Pardon my back." Facing the general audience seated before him, he said, "Pardon my front." He was a very large presence in New York and around the world, and will be missed by many. R.I.P.

AT WAR

Defining Victory

EVERYTHING that can be done through words in this war has now been done. President Bush said everything that needed to be said in his speech to Congress. He honored our victims and our heroes—some of them, as we have learned, the same people. He expressed gratitude to our friends and presented an ultimatum to our foes. He made it clear that we were at war, not in court; that we seek victory over an enemy, not just punishment for a criminal. He explained who the enemy was not. America is not at war with Muslims who practice their religion in peace. While not defining the enemy too broadly, he took care not to define him too narrowly either: Osama bin Laden got one mention in Bush's speech, almost in passing. Our enemy is "every terrorist group of global reach." Which is to say, anti-American terrorists.

The logic of a "war on terrorism" points beyond itself. Terrorism is, after all, a (particularly immoral) tactic of war, not an ideology or group or goal. A war on terrorism, literally speaking, would be like a war on bombing. The phrase is meant to suggest that our hostility is not confined to those people who can be proved to have materially aided the attacks of September 11. It encompasses all those who mean to do our people harm. Not just bin Laden, then, but his al Qaeda network; not just his network, but the states that abet it and other networks.

Small wonder, then, that President Bush warned us that this war would be long. Bombing bin Laden, if we find him, will not end it. Nor will overthrowing the Taliban. Victory requires either changing the regimes of Iraq, Syria, Iran, Libya, and Sudan, or frightening them enough to change their behavior toward us.

If this long-term project is to have any chance of success, however, the administration must pursue what it has called

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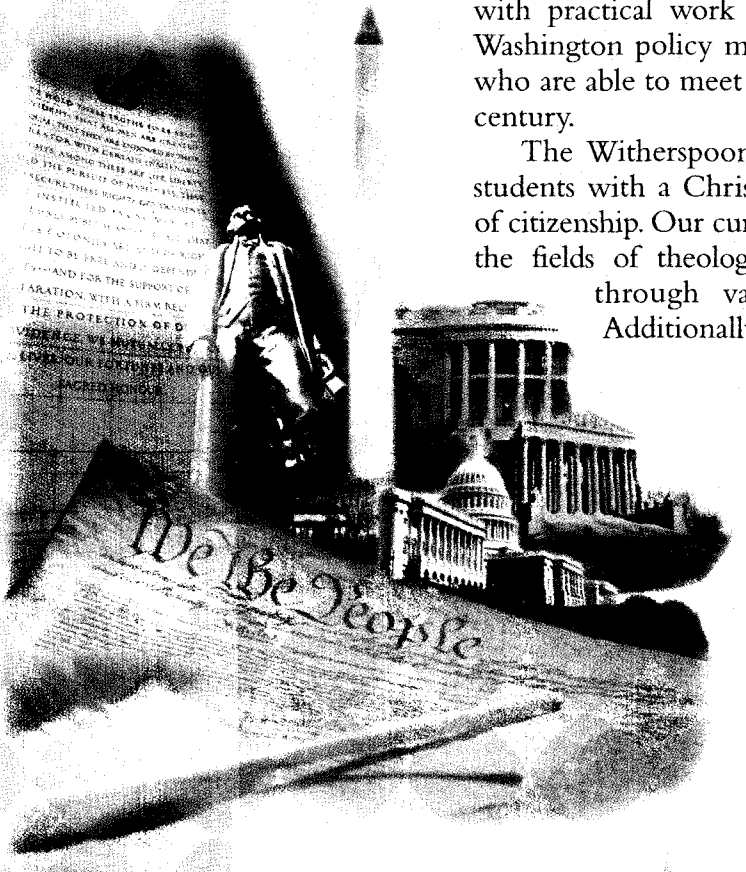

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the "first phase" of the war—against bin Laden and his Taliban sponsors—with vigor. Yet just days after Bush's speech, the secretary of state was balking at a war on the Taliban. In his post-speech statements, Colin Powell appeared to be trying to make al Qaeda our only target, and these statements were part of a confusing welter of administration talk about what we actually seek in Afghanistan.

No doubt Powell's caution reflects both a military man's reluctance to risk the lives of American soldiers and a diplomat's desire to gather as many countries as possible in coalition (especially Pakistan, which has objected strongly to the idea of removing the Taliban). The former impulse would be praiseworthy were it not, in this instance, self-defeating. Capturing or killing bin Laden and his men will not deter like-minded terrorists; the supply of would-be martyrs is too large. What will save American lives, in the long run, is to make sure that no one in power is tempted to cooperate with such men.

Assembling a coalition to prosecute the war is fine in principle—so long as it is remembered that the war is the purpose of the coalition rather than vice versa. We can do without the dubious aid of countries that demand, as the price of their cooperation, that we betray our true friends or abandon our purpose. And no doubt the size of the coalition will vary with the phase of the war. The Saudis are welcome in our coalition now that we have forced them to cut off their ties to the Taliban. It is very hard, on the other hand, to see what the Syrians have to offer. Rather than keeping our mission foremost in mind, Powell is acting as though our most important consideration is to position President Bush to win the next election in Pakistan.

For over a generation, Arab terrorists—both Islamist and secular—have pledged to fight America to the death. They do it on principle. So should we.

AT WAR II

What to Expect

WHAT can we say about the arc of the war we have entered? President Bush has prudently withheld many strategic details. (During the Gulf War, a "reporter" in a *Saturday Night Live* sketch asked "General Schwarzkopf" at a briefing: "If there is one thing you don't want Saddam Hussein to know, what would that be?") But what general traits can we foresee?

The enemy will try to strike again, and he won't try hijacking. Copycats may attempt to turn airplanes into bombs, and they will fail, since the learning curve of Americans was quite steep: The fourth plane crashed in Pennsylvania because heroic passengers, already knowing the fate of the other three, fought the enemy. The terrorists' next attempted weapons will probably be germs or nuclear bombs, either smuggled out of the former Soviet Union or slipped to them by Pakistani soulmates. The effects could be grave, although the deaths we have already suffered are comparable to the likely casualties of a crude nuclear weapon.

Most of our allies will disappoint us in every conceivable way, from minor annoyance to spectacular betrayal. The great power on the sidelines, China, will fish in troubled waters. This is the history of coalition warfare. World War II, so black and white in our memory, saw two major players, the Soviet Union and France, switch sides, while lesser European nations, such as Spain, blew with the prevailing winds. Queen Elizabeth II sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," and Israel declared a day of mourning: That about exhausts the short list of dependables. So the burden will be on us—nothing new there.

American unanimity is sky high now. In a flash, the map of blue and red counties became uniformly red, white, and blue. But this is unusual in the history of American warfare. There were Tories during the Revolution, secessionists in the War of 1812, Copperheads in the Civil War, and a great reluctant Germanic heartland in the run-up to World War I. Vietnam has been the norm of American history rather than the exception. There will be protests, and treason (not all the recent immigrants in our Arab communities were as shocked as a zealously tolerant media has reported).

War is uncertain. Wars are often long, a matter of years at least. There will be casualties. We know that already, having sustained over 6,000. Our soldiers will kill and be killed, and foreign civilians will die as a consequence of our actions. The wicked who profess to act in the name of God should have thought of this before they took up the devil's work.

The war, as President Bush told Congress, will end in victory. The lineup of opposed forces makes this result likely; our resolve, catalyzed by the enemy's baseness, makes it inevitable. We face a well-funded terror network of zealous and intelligent freaks, supported by a handful of second-rate despotisms. We do not have to conquer them all; we have to crush some, and bribe, divide, and muzzle the rest. Piracy and the slave trade were ended in lawless parts of the world, and so will this form of terrorism. New forms will arise, for the heart of man is desperately wicked. But we will win this round.

THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM

Mrs. Clinton supports Giuliani.
Speaker Hastert and Gephardt hold hands.
When Majority Leader Tom Daschle
Gets the shakes, Mr. Lott understands.
As the president steadied the nation,
There were tears in Ted Kennedy's eyes.
It's a scene that's unstable as water—
Just a bump and a grind to the wise.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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AT WAR III

Homeland Truths

SEPTEMBER 11 was the day that terrorists attacked America. September 12 was the day that the *New York Times* and others began using the attack to argue against building a missile-defense system. Their case had a superficial appeal: This horrific attack had not required a ballistic missile. And missile-defense critics had always warned about the terroristic possibilities of, say, a nuclear "suitcase bomb." But the September 11 attacks gave missile defense a political boost—Senate Democrats dropped their objections to Bush's missile-defense spending plans—and, on further reflection, should help the intellectual argument for it as well.

Donald Rumsfeld's emphasis on "homeland defense," ridiculed so often as a retrograde, isolationist impulse, certainly seems prescient now. Of course, no one would have predicted the form of the recent attacks, which didn't come via ballistic missile *or* suitcase. We have been reminded that attacks are often unexpected. So we probably shouldn't believe the blithe assurances of missile-defense critics that no foreign leader will ever be "crazy" enough to threaten or launch a ballistic-missile attack on the United States. This assurance is based on the idea that deterrence always works, that the U.S. can wave the magic wand of its retaliatory capability and never be attacked. Well, deterrence failed with bin Laden and the Taliban.

The fact is that our opponents don't always operate on the same reasonable assumptions that we do; they do not necessarily value their survival more than the chance to commit mass murder. And the regimes that don't share these assumptions, that sponsor terrorism, are exactly the ones that are also pursuing weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. They do so because nukes would increase their leverage over their neighbors and the United States—making a war on terrorism, for example, much more difficult to wage. Missile defense is a way of checking the power of these states, of neutralizing one way they have of threatening America and possibly killing its citizens.

Spending 3 percent of the defense budget on this protection is a prudent investment, against the day that the September 11 attacks are made—God forbid—to look amateurish and small-bore.

AT WAR IV

Hall of Shame

EVERY war flushes out the disaffected, the disloyal, and the plain creepy, and this one has been no exception.

Early entrants in the creep sweepstakes were the Revs. Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. Falwell, in an interview on Robertson's *700 Club*, was discussing the possibility that God had withdrawn His providential protection from the United States. He then said that "the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the American Way—all of them who have tried to secularize America—I point the finger in their face and say, 'You helped this happen.'"

In the wake of the worst wartime civilian death toll in American history, discussing God's Providence and possible wrath was hardly inappropriate. Lincoln did the same in the Second Inaugural. But singling out specific sinners—who happened to be Falwell's regular targets—was as presumptuous as it was idiotic.

Falwell apologized—almost. "I do not know if the horrific events of September 11 are the judgment of God, but if they are, that judgment is on all America—including me and all fellow sinners . . ." He weaseled at the end of his statement, though, saying that he "had no intention of being divisive." Robertson weaseled all the way, claiming that he had not "fully understood" Falwell's remarks at the time, and that the statements had been taken "out of context" by hostile spinners. The hostile spinners are out there: Liberals have for years called the two ministers ayatollahs. All the more reason for them to speak intelligently.

You would think, from the attention that Falwell and Robertson have gotten, that they were the only cracks in the home front. But there were many other burps and blasphemies, and they all came from predictable quarters.

There were the lefty entertainers. Kevin Richardson of the Backstreet Boys thought America was "a little bit of an arrogant nation." Would he have dropped the hedging "little bit" if they'd taken out only one Trade Tower? Director Michael Moore said that "we have orphaned so many children . . . with our tax-payer funded terrorism" that "we shouldn't be too surprised when those orphans grow up and are a little wacked in the head." Hanoi Jane Fonda feared "saber rattling and the calls for vengeance." Maybe she can pose in a hijacked cockpit.

Then there were the intellectuals. Susan Sontag deplored "the sanctimonious, reality-concealing rhetoric" of post-attack politicians, and urged Americans to "not be stupid together." (Probably the only reason Joan Didion didn't say this first is that she is closeted in a hotel room somewhere and doesn't know that the attack occurred.) Noam Chomsky, quoting Robert Fisk in *The Nation*, urged Americans to consider that the coming war "is also about American missiles smashing into Palestinian homes . . . and about a Lebanese militia—paid and uniformed by America's Israeli ally—hacking and raping and murdering their way through refugee camps." Time to be a linguist, Noam: Let's just say the Jews did it, and be done. Katha Pollitt informed readers of *The Nation* that she would not fly an American flag out her window as her high-school-age daughter wants to do. "Definitely not, I say: The flag stands for jingoism and vengeance and war." Tell the kid to turn down her damned music, too.

Democratic congresswoman Barbara Lee cast the lone

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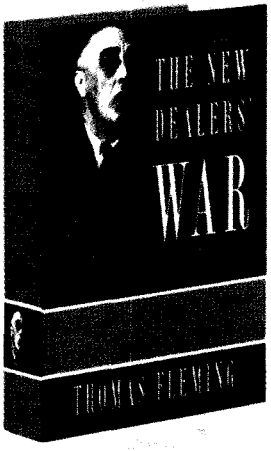

The New Dealers' War – Despite his personal admiration for Franklin D. Roosevelt and his economic policies, historian Thomas Fleming delivers a scathing analysis of FDR's actions before World War II. Careful research lead him to definitively discover a shocking truth: that because of his New Deal mindset, FDR felt entitled to trick America into a war she overwhelmingly opposed.

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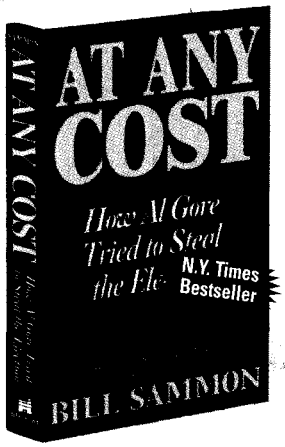

At Any Cost – Al Gore's maneuvering in the 36 days following the election was nothing short of attempted robbery. Now that the dust has settled get a no-holds-barred, behind-the-scenes account of the events in Florida from *Washington Times* reporter Bill Sammon. Citing countless inside sources and never-before-published evidence, he uncovers what no other reporter has: the truth!

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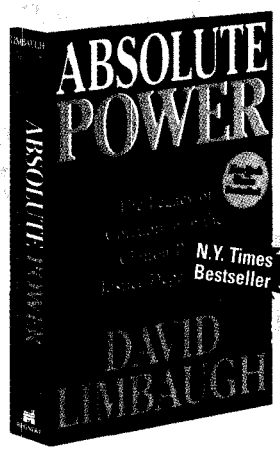

Absolute Power – David Limbaugh fearlessly reveals how far the Department of Justice has fallen during the misrule of Bill Clinton. We knew Janet Reno was corrupt, but now see how far she went to serve and protect the political interests of Bill Clinton and Al Gore. A stunning and haunting read that no lover of freedom can ignore.

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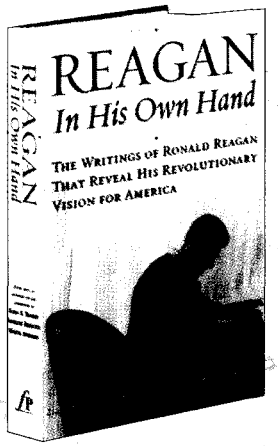

Reagan, In His Own Hand – For years liberals have accused Ronald Reagan of being a giant fake. They claimed that "The Great Communicator" was nothing more then an actor playing a part with great writers telling him what to say. This massive collection of Reagan's personal writings, some of them never published before, smashes that notion. Reagan's written word clearly reflects the passion he felt for conservative ideals and the people of this nation.

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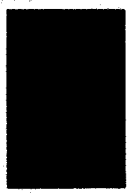

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Hating Whitey – With his trademark iconoclastic style, reformed radical David Horowitz dissects the social double standard that dismisses black racism. The so-called civil rights leaders are outraged by, among other things, his reference to Kweisi Mfume and Jesse Jackson as "racial ambulance chasers."

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The Ten Things You Can't Say in America – Talk radio personality Larry Elder is not afraid of the self–proclaimed guardians of political correctness. He speaks out against the liberals who impose their ideas on America for their own benefit. Elder is dead–on in his evaluation of liberal lies and media bias.
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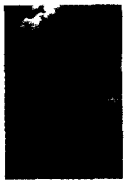

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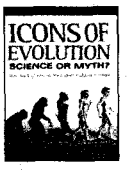

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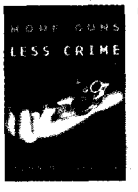

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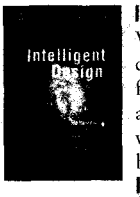

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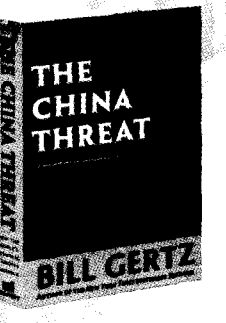

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vote against allowing President Bush to respond to the attack, but it was consistent with a lifetime of hard-Left activity. As a young politician in Oakland, Lee cozied up to the Black Panthers. She became an administrative assistant to Rep. Ron Dellums, whom she accompanied on a trip of solidarity to Communist-run Grenada. In 1992 she was elected to the National Coordinating Council of the Committees of Correspondence, a faction of the American Communist Party. In 1998 she succeeded Dellums in the House. Memo to the leadership: Don't let her take Gary Condit's seat on the Intelligence Committee.

Finally, Europe, the continent of Nazism and Communism—a high-GDP equivalent of the Arab world in terms of political incompetence and the resulting shame—produced several doozies. Harold Pinter called the United States "the most dangerous power the world has ever known." Communist Nobel Prize winner Dario Fo said the present economic system kills so many millions, what difference does "20,000" in the Trade Towers make? German composer Karlheinz Stockhausen hailed the dedicated planning, and the spectacular effect of the bombing, as a great work of art.

Unpunished Communists, demented America-haters, morons: We will be hearing a lot more from them.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Now that "begging the question" and "reason why" have been cleared up, I wonder if you could help me with my own personal head-scratcher.

Why is it okay to say "people of color," but not "colored people"? What's the difference?

Best regards,
Carlo Iorio
Sun City, Ariz.

Dear Mr. Iorio: A good point. The only obvious reason would appear to be that the term "colored people" was around back in Jim Crow days. I continue to use it, mostly out of habit, having heard it all through my youth in South Carolina; and it is not completely abolished, viz., the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"People of color" is not usable by anyone with even moderate euphonic sensibility, besides which, it sounds pompous. Ditto "African-Americans." So I do "black" or "colored," and I very much hope I don't give offense. Those who are looking to be offended can always find a casus belli.

On stage (*Firing Line*) 30 years ago, when I introduced Jesse Jackson as a prominent Negro, he raised his hand and said not to use that term anymore. Fair enough, the anti-Negro protocol was just setting in. If I had written *Huckleberry Finn,* I might object, but have no reason to do so.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: In reference to the letter of James Neely (Aug. 6), I must have missed the original discussion of the "longstanding mystery of how to parse *He is risen.*"

Even without a knowledge of Greek, a glance at a commentary on the Gospel accounts of the Resurrection could have cleared up the mystery. I'm not clear what Dr. Neely means by describing "He arose" as a passive verb, intransitive in force. In any event, only the translation "He has been raised" is correct, since it represents what is called a "divine passive," i.e., a passive with the divine agent unexpressed (as in "Hallowed be thy name"), a common usage in both Testaments.

The point of the passive verb is that God raised Jesus from the dead.

Sincerely,
Prof. John S. Kselman
Weston Jesuit School of Theology
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Mr. Buckley: There seems to be a minor controversy anent the origin of the Biblical phrase "He is risen." According to my college French teacher, the grammatical structures are French, coming into the English language after the Norman conquest.

"To rise" (*se lever*) is reflexive, thus requiring the verb "to be" (*être*), or, in the third person singular, "is."

Sam Woods
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Buckley: Having little Latin and less Greek, I didn't quite understand Dr. Neely's explanation. However, I was in one of the last generations required to diagram sentences in elementary school, and can offer a simple schoolboy understanding. The sentence may be parsed in two complementary, virtually synonymous, ways: 1) "risen" is a past participle used as a predicate adjective modifying "He"; 2) "is risen" is the perfect tense of an intransitive verb using, as was customary in Elizabethan and Jacobean English, the auxiliary verb "to be" rather than "to have."

James Redding
Granville, N.Y.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: William C. Dawson Jr.'s attempt (July 23) to hang a hamartia on NR's impeccant reputation fell short. He claims his life was ruined when NR used "hung" rather than "hanged" in reference to an execution. Perhaps he can be assuaged by understanding that "hanged" is the capital aspect of the punishment, and comes into being only at the terminus of this impressive procedure. It's the destination, not the journey: A person is hung by the neck until hanged.

Julian Schmidt
Treynor, Iowa

Dear Mr. Schmidt: Thanks for getting *that* straight.

Cordially,

—WFB

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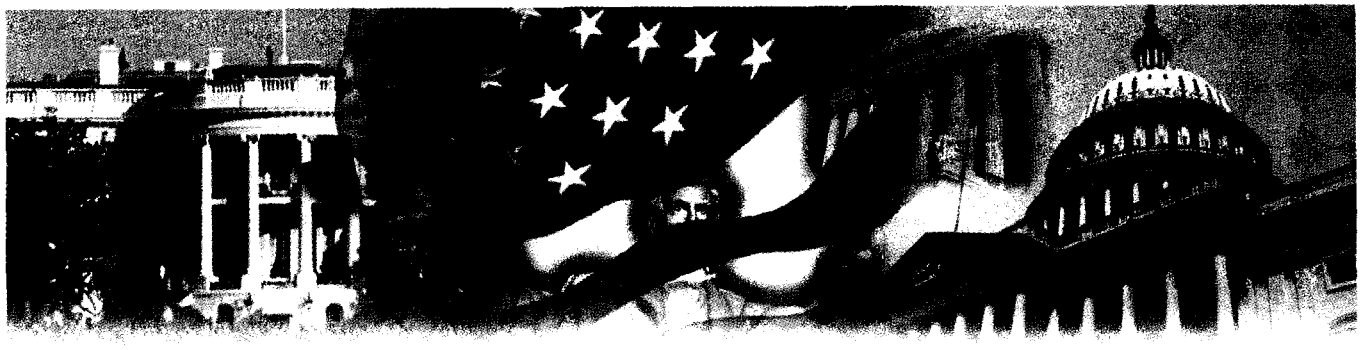
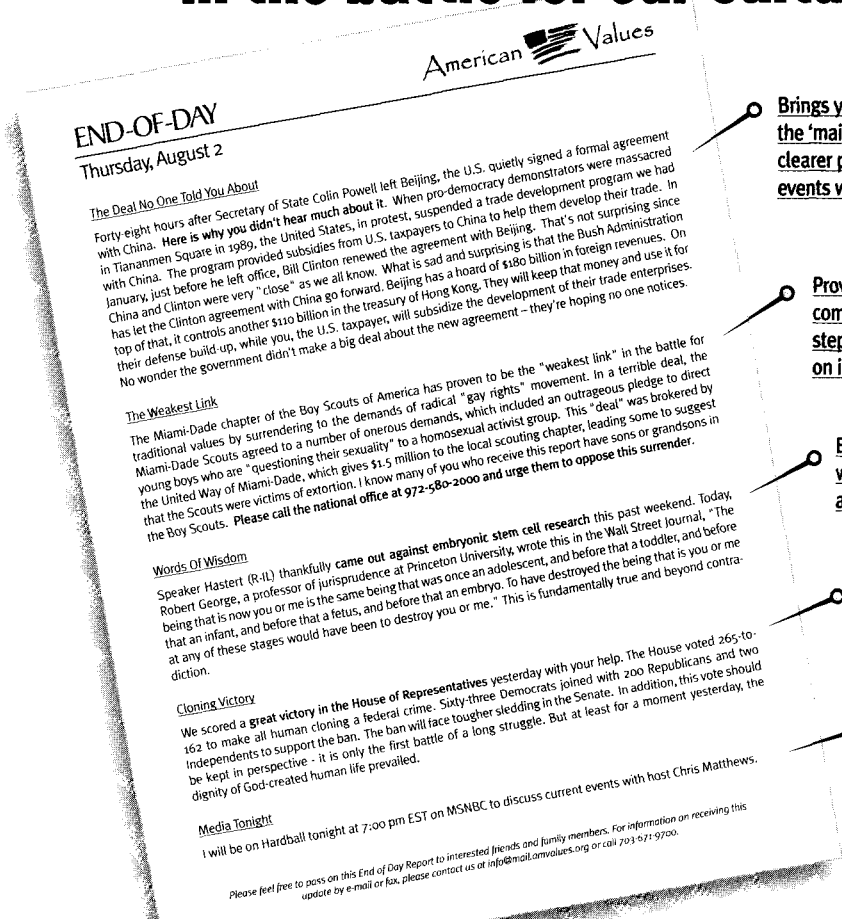


Gary Bauer's End-of-Day Report:

Think of it as your daily intelligence briefing in the battle for our culture.



American Values

END-OF-DAY

Thursday, August 2

The Deal No One Told You About

Forty-eight hours after Secretary of State Colin Powell left Beijing, the U.S. quietly signed a formal agreement with China. **Here is why you didn't hear much about it.** When pro-democracy demonstrators were massacred in Tiananmen Square in 1989, the United States, in protest, suspended a trade development program we had with China. The program provided subsidies from U.S. taxpayers to China to help them develop their trade. In January, just before he left office, Bill Clinton renewed the agreement with Beijing. That's not surprising since China and Clinton were very "close" as we all know. What is sad and surprising is that the Bush Administration has let the Clinton agreement with China go forward. Beijing has a hoard of $180 billion in foreign reserves. On top of that, it controls another $110 billion in the treasury of Hong Kong. They will keep that money and use it for their defense build-up, while you, the U.S. taxpayer, will subsidize the development of their trade enterprises. No wonder the government didn't make a big deal about the new agreement – they're hoping no one notices.

The Weakest Link

The Miami-Dade chapter of the Boy Scouts of America has proven to be the "weakest link" in the battle for traditional values by surrendering to the demands of radical "gay rights" movement. In a terrible deal, the Miami-Dade Scouts agreed to a number of onerous demands, which included an outrageous pledge to direct young boys who are "questioning their sexuality" to a homosexual activist group. This "deal" was brokered by the United Way of Miami-Dade, which gives $1.5 million to the local scouting chapter, leading some to suggest that the Scouts were victims of extortion. I know many of you who receive this report have sons or grandsons in the Boy Scouts. **Please call the national office at 972-580-2000 and urge them to oppose this surrender.**

Words Of Wisdom

Speaker Hastert (R-IL) thankfully **came out against embryonic stem cell research** this past weekend. Today, Robert George, a professor of jurisprudence at Princeton University, wrote this in the Wall Street Journal, "The being that is now you or me is the same being that was once an adolescent, and before that a toddler, and before that an infant, and before that a fetus, and before that an embryo. To have destroyed the being that is you or me at any of these stages would have been to destroy you or me." This is fundamentally true and beyond contradiction.

Cloning Victory

We scored a **great victory in the House of Representatives** yesterday with your help. The House voted 265-to-162 to make all human cloning a federal crime. Sixty-three Democrats joined with 200 Republicans and two Independents to support the ban. The ban will face tougher sledding in the Senate. In addition, this vote should be kept in perspective - it is only the first battle of a long struggle. But at least for a moment yesterday, the dignity of God-created human life prevailed.

Media Tonight

I will be on Hardball tonight at 7:00 pm EST on MSNBC to discuss current events with host Chris Matthews.

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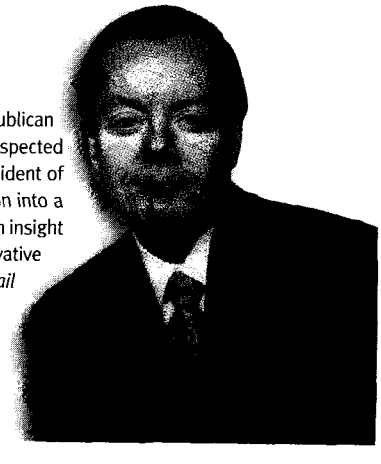

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'Relentlessly and Thoroughly'

The only way to respond

PAUL JOHNSON

BOLD and uncompromising words were spoken by American (and British) leaders in the immediate response to the Manhattan Massacre. But they may be succeeded by creeping appeasement unless public opinion insists that these leaders stick to their initial resolve to destroy international terrorism completely. One central reason why appeasement is so tempting to Western governments is that attacking terrorism at its roots necessarily involves conflict with the second-largest religious community in the world.

It is widely said that Islamic terrorists are wholly unorthodox in their belief that their religion sanctions what they do, and promises the immediate reward of heaven to what we call "suicide bombers" but they insist are martyrs to the faith. This line is bolstered by the assertion that Islam is essentially a religion of peace and that the very word "Islam" means "peace." Alas, not so. Islam means "submission," a very different matter, and one of the functions of Islam, in its more militant aspect, is to obtain that submission from all, if necessary by force.

Osama bin Laden by Roman Genn

Islam is an imperialist religion, more so than Christianity has ever been, and in contrast to Judaism. The Koran, Sura 5, verse 85, describes the inevitable enmity between Moslems and non-Moslems: "Strongest among men in enmity to the Believers wilt thou find the Jews and Pagans." Sura 9, verse 5, adds: "Then fight and slay the pagans wherever you find them. And seize them, beleaguer them and lie in wait for them, in every strategem [of war]." Then nations, however mighty, the Koran insists, must be fought "until they embrace Islam."

These canonical commands cannot be explained away or softened by modern theological exegesis, because there is no such science in Islam. Unlike Christianity, which, since the Reformation and Counter Reformation, has continually updated itself and adapted to changed conditions, and unlike Judaism, which has experienced what is called the 18th-century Jewish enlightenment, Islam remains a religion of the Dark Ages. The 7th-century Koran is still taught as the immutable word of God, any teaching of which is literally true. In other words, mainstream Islam is essentially akin to the most extreme form of Biblical fundamentalism. It is true it contains many sects and tendencies, quite apart from the broad division between Sunni Moslems, the majority, who are comparatively moderate and include most of the ruling families of the Gulf, and Shia Moslems, far more extreme, who dominate Iran. But virtually all these tendencies are more militant and uncompromising than the orthodox, which is moderate only by comparison, and by our own standards is extreme. It believes, for instance, in a theocratic state, ruled by religious law, inflicting (as in Saudi Arabia) grotesquely cruel punishments, which were becoming obsolete in Western Europe in the early Middle Ages.

Moreover, Koranic teaching that the faith or "submission" can be, and in suitable circumstances must be, imposed by force, has never been ignored. On the contrary, the history of Islam has essentially been a history of conquest and reconquest. The 7th-century "breakout" of Islam from Arabia was followed by the rapid conquest of North Africa, the invasion and virtual conquest of Spain, and a thrust into France that carried the crescent to the gates of Paris. It took half a millennium of reconquest to expel the Moslems from Western Europe. The Crusades, far from being an outrageous prototype of Western imperialism, as is taught in most of our schools, were a mere episode in a struggle that has lasted 1,400 years, and were one of the few occasions when Christians took the offensive to regain the "occupied territories" of the Holy Land.

The Crusades, as it happened, fatally weakened the Greek Orthodox Byzantine Empire, the main barrier to the spread of Islam into southeast and central Europe. As a result of the fall of Constantinople to the ultramilitant Ottoman Sultans, Islam took over the entire Balkans, and was threatening to

Mr. Johnson is a historian and journalist whose forthcoming book is a history of art.

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capture Vienna and move into the heart of Europe as recently as the 1680s.

This millennial struggle continues in a variety of ways. The recent conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo were a savage reaction by the Orthodox Christians of Serbia to the spread of Islam in their historic heartlands, chiefly by virtue of a higher birthrate. Indeed, in the West, the battle is largely demographic, though it is likely to take a more militant turn at any moment. Moslems from the Balkans and North Africa are surging over established frontiers on a huge scale, rather as the pressure of the eastern tribes brought about the collapse of the Roman Empire of the West in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. The number of Moslems penetrating and settling in Europe is now beyond computation because most of them are illegals. They are getting into Spain and Italy in such numbers that, should present trends continue, both these traditionally Catholic countries will become majority Moslem during the 21st century.

The West is not alone in being under threat from Islamic expansion. While the Ottomans moved into South-East Europe, the Moghul invasion of India destroyed much of Hindu and Buddhist civilization there. The recent destruction by Moslems in Afghanistan of colossal Buddhist statues is a reminder of what happened to temples and shrines, on an enormous scale, when Islam took over. The writer V. S. Naipaul has recently pointed out that the destructiveness of the Moslem Conquest is at the root of India's appalling poverty today. Indeed, looked at historically, the record shows that Moslem rule has tended both to promote and to perpetuate poverty. Meanwhile, the religion of "submission" continues to advance, as a rule by force, in Africa in part of Nigeria and Sudan, and in Asia, notably in Indonesia, where non-Moslems are given the choice of conversion or death. And in all countries where Islamic law is applied, converts, whether compulsory or not, who revert to their earlier faith, are punished by death.

The survival and expansion of militant Islam in the 20th century came as a surprise. After the First World War, many believed that Turkey, where the Kemal Ataturk regime imposed secularization by force, would set the pattern for the future, and that Islam would at last be reformed and modernized. Though secularism has—so far—survived in Turkey, in the rest of Islam fundamentalism, or orthodoxy, as it is more properly called, has increased its grip on both the rulers and the masses. There are at present 18 predominantly Islamic states, some of them under Koranic law and all ruled by groups that have good reason to fear extremists.

Hence American policymakers, in planning to uproot Islamic terrorism once and for all, have to steer a narrow path. They have the military power to do what they want, but they need a broad-based global coalition to back their action, preferably with military contributions as well as words, and ideally including such states as Pakistan, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. To get this kind of support is not easy, for moderate Moslem rulers are far more frightened of the terrorists than of Americans, and fear for their lives and families. The danger is that they will insist on qualification of American action that will amount, in effect, to appeasement, and that this in turn will divide and weaken both the administration and U.S. public opinion.

It is vitally important that America stick to the essentials of its military response and carry it through relentlessly and thoroughly. Although only Britain can be guaranteed to back the White House in every contingency, it is better in the long run for America to act without many allies, or even alone, than to engage in a messy compromise dictated by nervousness and cowardice. That would be the worst of all solutions and would be certain to lead to more terrorism, in more places, and on an ever-increasing scale. Now is the ideal moment for the United States to use all its physical capacity to eliminate large-scale international terrorism. The cause is overwhelmingly just, the nation is united, the hopes of decent, law-abiding men and women everywhere go with American arms. Such a moment may never recur.

■

It is better in the long run for America to act without many allies, or even alone, than to engage in a messy compromise dictated by nervousness and cowardice.

■

The great William Gladstone, in resisting terrorism, once used the phrase, "The resources of civilisation are not yet exhausted." That is true today. Those resources are largely in American hands, and the nation—"the last, best hope of mankind"—has an overwhelming duty to use them with purposeful justification and to the full, in the defense of the lives, property, and freedom of all of us. This is the central point to keep in mind when the weasel words of cowardice and surrender are pronounced. **NR**

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An Arab Moment of Truth

Which way the Islamist fantasy?

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

THE conflict that has now erupted has been gathering for a long time. Its roots lie deep in history. To be brief and blunt, the Muslim world has never known exactly how to respond to the West, whether to adopt its values or to reject them. A logic arises: The West is powerful; power is arrogant; we are proud people; therefore we must overpower and humble the West. False as the logic is, it locks in high emotion. It also raises for Muslims an existential question of identity: What sort of people do we think we are?

For the past half century and more, the Muslim world has been free and independent, with every opportunity to organize as it wishes. And this is the heart of the issue: The Muslim world is a political and social disaster for all to see. With the arguable exception of Turkey, it consists of a series of despotisms, each with an absolute ruler whose ultimate justification is his strength and will. A family or a clique gathers around the ruler under the protection of the state apparatus of secret police and military repression. To the powerful, the spoils; to the weak, submission. No rights, no freedom of expression, no loyal opposition, no rule of law, no redress except through violence, conspiracy, a coup, and ultimate civil war.

Whose fault is this? The huge majority of Muslims understand that they are responsible for themselves. They know what they have to put up with. Describing the daily corruption and injustices of despotism, they ask the aching question, "What can we do?" Muhammad Haikal was once the spokesman of Gamal Abdul Nasser, the ruler who set Egypt back for decades. Haikal was no friend of the West either, but he could write: "The Arab and Muslim world is completely naked. [None of us] can claim any more that he is independent. We have proved we are not modern. We have proved that we are not religious in the real sense of the word. We have proved that we cannot afford democracy." Today Ahmad Bishara, a prominent Kuwaiti, says that Arabs and Muslims "should engage in deep soul-searching" about their institutions and culture.

To write like that requires protection at the highest level, as well as personal courage. There are such men, and women too. It is a moving experience to sit in rooms and cafés in Cairo or Beirut, and even Gaza and Ramallah, and listen to their clear and rational analyses of the faults of their society. They are the equivalent of Soviet dissidents in the old days, and if there is hope for the Muslim and Arab world, it lies in their example. Like Soviet dissidents, they are only saying what almost everyone knows to be the truth. For most Muslims have answered the existential question for themselves the way the populations under Soviet rule did: They want what those in the Free World have.

Muslims by the millions already live in the West, wherever they can find refuge and opportunity. This in itself defies the doctrine of Islam, whereby Muslims are prohibited from living among unbelievers. Muslim publications abroad make it clear that integration is under way, bringing with it problems—all soluble—concerning dating of non-Muslims, rejection of arranged marriages, correct manners in a multicultural society. The news reaching home countries confirms that life in the West is good. With the news comes money for medicine and education. Jamia'at Ulema-e-Islam is one of the most extreme Islamic movements in Pakistan, and its leader—a ferocious old man with a white beard—is currently summoning the faithful onto the streets to overthrow the government of President Musharraf and launch a holy war. But two of his sons are studying in the United States. He says that they will be better able to understand their enemy. This humbug reveals the inner ambiguity common to his kind. He knows, and we know, that he is supplying them with a brighter future, as any father would.

In the first months of 1979, Ayatollah Khomeini seized power in Iran. He was a Muslim equivalent of Lenin. He gave a quite different answer to the existential question of Muslim identity. Muslim society was a failure, he concurred with secular critics like Haikal, and one cause of this was the people's abandonment of their faith. Islam had made its believers great and powerful in centuries past, and it would do so again. But there was another overriding cause of the general backsliding. Over the long term, Khomeini held, the West had had the cunning and deliberate intention of destroying Islam. Why the West would have such a wanton and malign ambition he did not explain. But he crystallized a mindset with revolutionary implications: Muslims were not responsible for their plight, it was all the fault of the West, to be rectified by war.

So mosques in Iran, and then elsewhere, began to resound with cries that America was the Great Satan, and crowds burned the Stars and Stripes. The emotional logic hardened into a series of syllogisms: Islam is righteous; America is imperialist; therefore unrighteous America is uprooting Islam. Or again: Good Muslims must kill Jews; America helps Jews; therefore America is killing good Muslims. Yet again: America is arrogant; Muslims are proud; therefore suicide bombers are giving America what she deserves.

A fantasy is loose in the world, the fantasy of an Islamic supremacy destined deservedly to triumph everywhere. Like Communism before it, this Islamic fantasy aims to impose its vision on others—and call it peace. In an unexpected form, here is another totalitarian movement with the usual murderous belief that the ends justify the means. Latching on to local or regional issues everywhere, Islamic supremacy has been developing its cause: condemning Salman Rushdie to death for supposed apostasy; holding Americans hostage in

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor whose books include *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.*

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Teheran; killing Marines in Beirut; sponsoring suicide bombers; threatening pro-Western rulers in Muslim countries with assassination and civil war; preparing for the genocide of Jews in Israel. The false syllogisms of the Islamist mindset have hardened into axioms supporting one outrage after another. As in the old Soviet Union, everything political becomes a metaphor for war and apocalypse. If there is no room for Muslims, the extremists declare with passion, then there is no room for anybody else either. This failure of intellect could hardly be more complete.

Except for one thing: The Left throughout the West picks it up and fans it. Demonstrations against President Bush and his response to the suicide attacks have occurred in most major cities of Europe. In the media, even in the United States, people have jumped forward to blame the suicide attacks on America and its policies, rather than on the actual terrorist perpetrators. Here comes Susan Sontag, for example, to sneer that this attack on "the world's self-proclaimed superpower" was "undertaken as a consequence of specific American alliances and actions." Barbara Foley of Rutgers University believes that America's "fascist foreign policy" over many decades is to blame for the attack. Harold Pinter, playwright of the absurd, writes to the press to say that it is President Bush who is fanning the flames of intolerance.

The Taliban exemplify the Islamist fantasy. They are tribalists of a medieval brutality. They forbid women to have an education or a job, and bury a woman suspected of adultery up to her shoulders before stoning her to death. They kill suspected homosexuals by collapsing walls onto them. They have driven millions of desperate fellow Afghans into exile, and leave the remainder to face destitution and starvation. Their honored accomplice is Osama bin Laden, who for the last ten years or so has been telling everyone who can listen that the United States is the source of all wickedness and he intends to destroy it.

The Left blamed the United States for the Cold War and the division of Europe, and for unrest in the Middle East, Africa, and elsewhere. Whatever happened, the Soviet Union was innocent and peace-loving. This same Left—in the Sontags and Pinters, these same people—follows an unbroken line in its attitude towards extremists in the Arab and Muslim world. Happy to leave millions at the mercy of Communism, they are happy to leave millions at the mercy of Islamist terror, so lining themselves up as ever on the side of oppression and lies. Their intellectual failure probably does not matter much here, where long exposure has shown that their opinions have foundations in psycho-pathology rather than reality. But it plays well in extremist circles, where assorted fanatics can now say, Look, the West is wicked, their intellectuals tell us so.

In the event of liberation from the general Islamist fantasy and the suicide bombers in particular, most of the Muslim world will feel a grateful relief that can only surprise and shock the Left as much as the joy of those liberated from Communism did. Should America fail to rescue them for whatever reason, though, Muslims will know that the Islamist fantasy is coming true, and they will have to endure it for a very long time to come. **NR**

The Conflict at Home

How do you like your multiculturalism now?

THEODORE DALRYMPLE

MULTICULTURALISTS hold these truths to be self-evident: that all cultures are created equal and are endowed by their creators with equal and compatible virtues. There can thus be no fundamental conflict between cultures. The lion can truly lie down with the lamb, not at some unspecified time in the future, but here and now, in the gardens of the West.

The shallowness of this view should require no exposition: any more than the barfly's oceanic feeling after a couple of drinks that all men are his brothers requires refutation. The fact that it does is not a sign of our broad-mindedness or generosity of spirit, but of our deliberate failure to make proper distinctions. This mental flabbiness is decadence, and at the same time a manifestation of the arrogant assumption that nothing can destroy us. Only those who feel themselves to be omnipotent are omni-tolerant.

The cowardly failure to recognize that cultural values may clash irreconcilably has allowed practices to flourish in our midst that would earn (and deservedly so) prison sentences were they practiced by natives of our society. Nowadays no surrender is too abject for our bureaucratic multiculturalists, whose sadomasochistic delight must have known no bounds when, for example, they subsidized from public funds the construction of a car park at the President Saddam Hussein Mosque, one of the two largest in the city in which I live.

One conflict between two liberal shibboleths—feminism, even of the mildest and most reasonable kind, and multiculturalism—has been passed over with a silence that can only be described as deafening. Liberals who mistake pieties for thought can keep their orthodoxies intact only by averting their gaze from the most elementary reality.

It is perfectly clear from my clinical experience in the hospital in which I work that large numbers of Muslim girls of Pakistani descent are being betrothed at or soon after birth to first cousins in villages back "home," whom they are subsequently inveigled into marrying by psychological pressure, subterfuge, or outright force, including the credible threat of death.

The following story is typical: I hear it once a week, and have done so for the past ten years. A girl aged between 14 and 17 is told by her parents that she is going to Pakistan for a holiday. Once she arrives back in her ancestral village, she is told that she is to be married almost at once, to a young man whom she has never met, who speaks no English, has no skills or education, and has no conception of the world outside the village. Resistance, she knows, is either pointless or dangerous: I have

Mr. Dalrymple, a contributing editor of *City Journal*, is a widely published journalist, critic, and novelist, and a doctor in an English slum.

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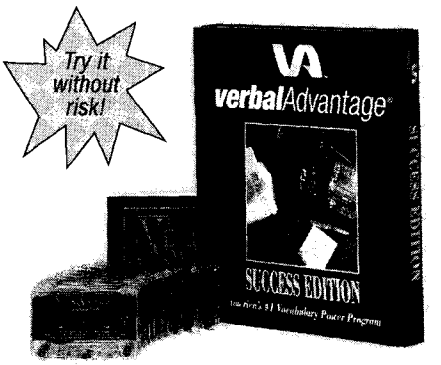

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never met such a girl who did not know of at least one case of someone in her position who was hanged by her parents, shot by them, or who fell fatally from a roof, after attempting to evade her parents' marriage plans. Official investigation of such a death, never very vigorous, can be brought to an end by the payment of about five pounds.

After the marriage, the struggle begins to obtain the husband's entry into Britain. When it is granted, he behaves himself for the probationary year during which his wife's complaint against his conduct could lead to his deportation back to Pakistan: but the very day after he is granted permanent leave to stay, he exacts his revenge for having suffered the terrible humiliation of having had to treat his wife with reasonable respect for a full twelve months. The violence and degradation then begin *and do not end*.

True, I am made aware of this system only when it leads to misery and even disaster. No social system is without its casualties, and perhaps there are many thousands of infantine betrothals that result in blissful happiness. I have a numerator, but no denominator, a common problem in assessing the true significance of a social problem. There is nonetheless good reason for supposing that both the pattern and the misery this system engenders are widespread: because the girls, or young women, who complain to me accept that the root of their unhappiness is the culture in which they have been reared, but whose demands they do not, indeed cannot, accept. Their own fate, though tragic, does not strike them as being in the least unusual or unexpected. They accept it as perfectly normal because it is what they have always seen around them, in their peer group and among their older sisters.

Given the exquisite tenderness of feminists on such matters as the replacement of the word "chairman" by "chair," one might have supposed that the existence of the customs I have mentioned would excite their ire, arouse their righteous indignation (in this case truly righteous), and fire their eloquence. On the contrary, such customs go almost completely unremarked and uncommented upon.

The silence is partly accounted for by the intensity of the feminists' navel-gazing, which is itself typical of modern culture. But this is only a portion of the explanation. Most of the feminists are also multiculturalists, because they do not want to have to admit that Western society is so far the only large-scale society that has proved compatible with some, at least, of their demands. Thus feminism and multiculturalism go together—in the words of the song—like a horse and carriage (of love and marriage it is perhaps best no longer to speak). And the feminists are also good Wittgensteinians, at least of the *Tractatus* period: Whereof they cannot speak, thereof they must be silent.

The silence of the feminists is not the only example of inertia in such matters, however. The British educational inspectors present another fine example of pusillanimity in action.

Education in Britain is compulsory for children between the ages of 5 and 16 (whether it should be is another question). But untold numbers of Muslim parents withdraw their daughters from school at the age of 11 or 12 and keep them at home, without other instruction, which is against the law. Although I have met scores of young women to whom this has happened, I have yet to meet one who was returned to school by the threat of legal action against her parents by the educational authorities. By contrast, I have heard of many white parents who have been harried by the courts for much lesser infractions of the educational law. What is most definitely not sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Lest I be accused of vulgar prejudice, let me point out that the Muslim girls in question are almost invariably better educated and intelligent in manner, though their formal training ceased five or six years earlier, than their white counterparts. These latter unfortunates nearly always turn into graceless, vulgar slatterns, thanks to the subculture (fast, alas, becoming the culture) they inhabit, and the entirely relativist education they receive.

But the uselessness—indeed harmfulness—of the education on offer is decidedly not the reason the educational authorities fail to prosecute the recalcitrant Muslim parents. The reason they fail to do so can be summed up in one word: fear.

I hasten to add that there are many practicing Muslims who are perfectly able and content to live at ease and in peace within a Western liberal democratic state. Even so, this should not blind us to the fact that many are not. After the attack on New York, it is up to our intelligence services to draw this distinction. There should be no more loose talk of nondiscrimination. Only a suicidal fool does not discriminate.

One is entitled to ask where the rejection, hatred, and contempt for the West comes from, even—or perhaps especially—among those who have had most contact with it. I think that it is fundamentally in vain to seek the cause in the conduct or culture of the West, unattractive in some respects as they have been and are. The thing that really wounds, and thus causes hatred, is the palpable inferiority of Islamic society in every important branch of human endeavor over the past three centuries at least. A hatred of a more powerful and technically advanced society, combined with a chippy insistence on spiritual superiority (as if advancement had no spiritual correlates of its own), is by no means unusual in history. The Chinese continued to regard Westerners as merely mechanically gifted barbarians for a very long time; the Russian Slavophiles despised the orderly bourgeois states of western Europe, regarding the muddy mess of the Russian village as spiritually superior; Latin American authors such as the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó and the Nicaraguan modernist poet Rubén Darío felt the same with regard to Latin America vis-à-vis the United States—as, indeed, does Fidel Castro to the present day. Nor is this view totally and 100 percent without foundation: For me, at least, a Middle Eastern souk is a more inviting and human place than a modern shopping mall. But man does not live by haggling alone.

Some Muslims will inevitably feel their migration to the West as a personal and cultural defeat, as an implicit and painful acknowledgement of the inferiority of their own civilization, to which they are nevertheless still deeply attached, and which they believe to be closer to God's will. Guilt and resentment are a potent brew, and we cannot make people love us who have drunk of it, even if we were to erase Israel from the map of the world. Multiculturalism, after all, has its limits. **NR**

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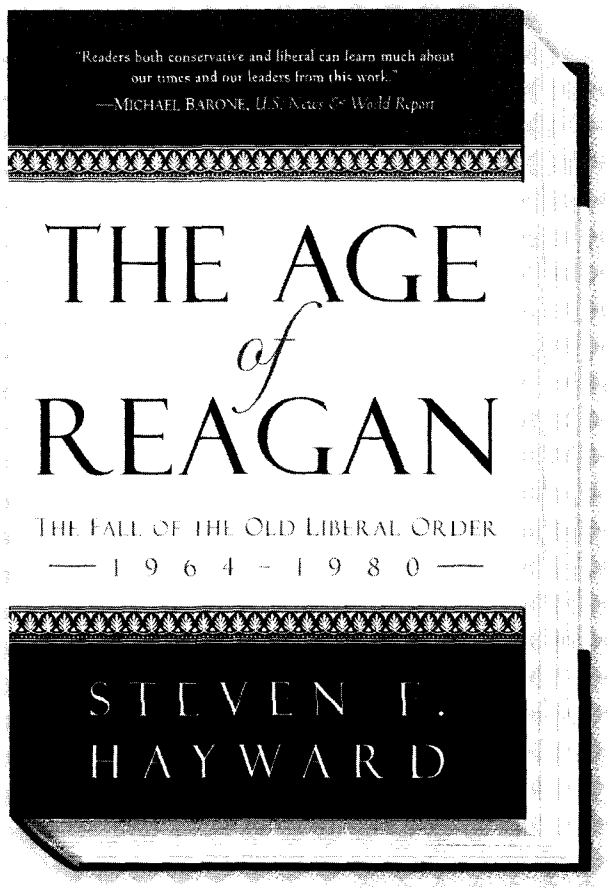
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Their Amerika

The song of the 'counter-tribalists'

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

'WHO is responsible for the attack on the World Trade Center?" I was asked on *Counterspin*, Canada's version of *Crossfire*.

"The men who hijacked the planes and flew them into the buildings, and those who financed and assisted them," I replied.

It was the wrong answer.

Another guest swiftly explained that though the terrorists were indeed partly to blame, we must understand that they were themselves responding to deeper causes—the general poverty and hopelessness of Afghanistan and many other Muslim countries, of course, but also America's interventions in Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf. By joining Pakistan in supporting the more fundamentalist mujahedin in the 1980s and then leaving postwar Afghanistan to fend for itself, the U.S. had helped to create the Taliban. And by basing infidel American troops in Saudi Arabia near the Muslim holy places during the Gulf War, the U.S. drove Osama bin Laden to transform himself into the Ford Foundation of terrorism. Americans themselves must therefore accept some of the blame for the terrorist attacks of September 11.

Now, there are reasonable criticisms of U.S. foreign policy embedded in that argument, for my fellow guests on *Counterspin* were in the main reasonable. Even so, that particular mixture of arguments does not even begin to establish some remote American responsibility for the acts of terrorism. It slyly implies that the U.S. spontaneously erupted into Afghanistan and the Gulf, when in fact the U.S. involved itself in Afghanistan in response to the Soviet occupation of that country, and placed troops in the Gulf to reverse the invasion of Kuwait—acting in both cases at the request of Muslim and Arab powers. It glosses over the fact that the U.S. was following Pakistan's lead in supporting Afghan fundamentalists for the practical reason that the U.S., which is not omnipotent, needed Pakistan's help in assisting the Afghan resistance. And it generally exaggerates America's capacity for either harm or good, by blaming the U.S. for the poverty and backwardness of Arab and Muslim countries, including Afghanistan, when those evils very largely stem from the failure of such societies to generate civil institutions, sensible economic policies, or free democratic governments (or, in the case of Afghanistan, any kind of stable government at all). In the light of such persistent systemic failures, it is perverse to blame America for not imposing political and economic enlightenment on these societies—the more so when we all know that America would instantly be denounced for cultural imperialism if it tried to do so.

But the Canadian audience did not really want to hear such an exculpation. It did not want to place the blame for over 6,000 violent deaths on the shoulders of the terrorists alone. Nor was this because it was composed of Muslims or anti-Americans (though there were probably some of both present). You would have had a very similar reaction from almost any Ivy League audience. Or from the League of Women Voters. Or from a session of Americans for Democratic Action. Or from a town meeting in almost any college town or gentrified urban area in the U.S. For in the Western world today there is a substantial audience—well short of a majority but still large—for arguments that combine two factors: a tendency to self-blame and a taste for complex causal explanations, preferably made still more complex by social-science jargon.

Examine some of the "anti-American" remarks made since September 11. Here, for instance, is a columnist in the student newspaper at the University of Michigan. Its author is a young man, of course, but his reflections mirror more senior academic opinion, as well as the opinions of Susan Sontag, Michael Moore, and the rest of the usual suspects. If it seems harsh to single him out for criticism here, remember that he will be extravagantly praised by those suspects for his idealism in penning these thoughts:

> If the leadership of this country has its way, a dangerous cycle will be allowed to continue. It is one in which America makes enemies abroad, via broken treaties, unattended summits, and tyrannical international policing. Terrorism follows, allowing leaders to call for appropriations to "fix" our national defense. The cycle needs to end, and it ends at the beginning. Funding the military at this point is a band-aid solution to a more complex problem.

Ah yes, as the English critic John Gross has remarked: "Complexity is the *first* refuge of the scoundrel." If indeed the World Trade Center was attacked because the U.S. withdrew from the Kyoto treaty, then the primary suspects are presumably the German and French "Green" parties, which were the bodies most enthusiastic about it. The Muslim countries were either indifferent to it, or nervously skeptical (some oil-producing countries), or outspokenly hostile (Malaysia). But our student strategist does not wish to place even partial or subsidiary blame for the attack on anyone but America. In his formulation, no one actually *does* the terrorism; it merely "follows" from some prior American beastliness, such as withdrawing from an international conference booming with anti-Semitic rhetoric. The terrorists themselves were not active protagonists in this scenario; they merely went through certain motions that American diplomacy had set in train, like billiard balls clicking over the green baize. But the U.S., when it retaliates, will enjoy no such excuse: Any response to the World Trade Center attack will be seen as a free and premeditated act of "tyrannical international policing."

In the immediate aftermath of the murder of more than 6,000 Americans, such comments have been relatively rare and muted in the U.S. They have been more common abroad: Fintan O'Toole in the *Irish Times* describing the U.S. as "merciless and arrogant"; the British *New Statesman* explaining that the Americans deserved to be bombed because they had voted for Bush, and even Gore, rather than

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for Ralph Nader; Edward Said in the London *Observer* unmasking the naïve American concepts of "freedom and terrorism" as "large abstractions [that] have mostly hidden sordid material interests, the influence of the oil, defense and Zionist lobbies now consolidating their hold on the entire Middle East, and an age-old religious hostility to (and ignorance of) 'Islam' that takes new forms every day"; an entire stable of *Guardian* writers all piously hoping that Americans will now take the trouble to learn from this painful episode why they are "hated"; and almost all of this vile nonsense written in falsely neutral or sympathetic tones behind which a passionate hostility is barely held in check, like a Freudian psychoanalyst explaining to a patient of whom he is secretly and viciously jealous the valid reasons why no one likes him.

When such comments appear, we are reasonably inclined to describe them as uncomplicatedly "anti-American." But it would be mistaken to see them as exhibiting a foreign nationalist rejection of American influence. Such feelings do exist, of course: sometimes in diplomatic or European bureaucracies, sometimes in intellectual coteries like the High Tory historians who blame the U.S. for the decline of the British Empire. But these are minority reactions. Most anti-American diatribes of the kind quoted above come from people who dislike their own country almost as much as they dislike America. Indeed, their dislike of the U.S. is partly rooted in their perception that America is an obstacle to their hopes of transforming their own societies in a statist, regulated, and bureaucratic direction. By its example, America gives hope to both the organic traditionalist and the spontaneous modernizing elements in their own societies. And, of course, many Americans share the sentiments of those who would reject these American influences—which is why anti-Americanism has been a popular import in certain parts of the U.S. in recent years.

Self-blame and a taste for complexity go very comfortably together to form something I call "counter-tribalism." This is a form of intellectual snobbery. A person in its grip has imbibed the notion that the patriotism of ordinary people is something simplistic, vulgar, and shameful, and thus to be avoided. He has been told that a genuinely sophisticated person—a university professor, say—has thrown off patriotic prejudice to become a citizen of the world. Now, of course, genuine cosmopolitanism is an admirable thing, drawing upon wide cultural sympathies but perfectly compatible with a simple love of country, as the work of any number of poets demonstrates. It is accordingly very rare. So what the counter-tribalist mistakes for cosmopolitanism is an inverted jingoism—an instinctive preference for other nations and a marked prejudice that in any conflict the enemy of America is in the right.

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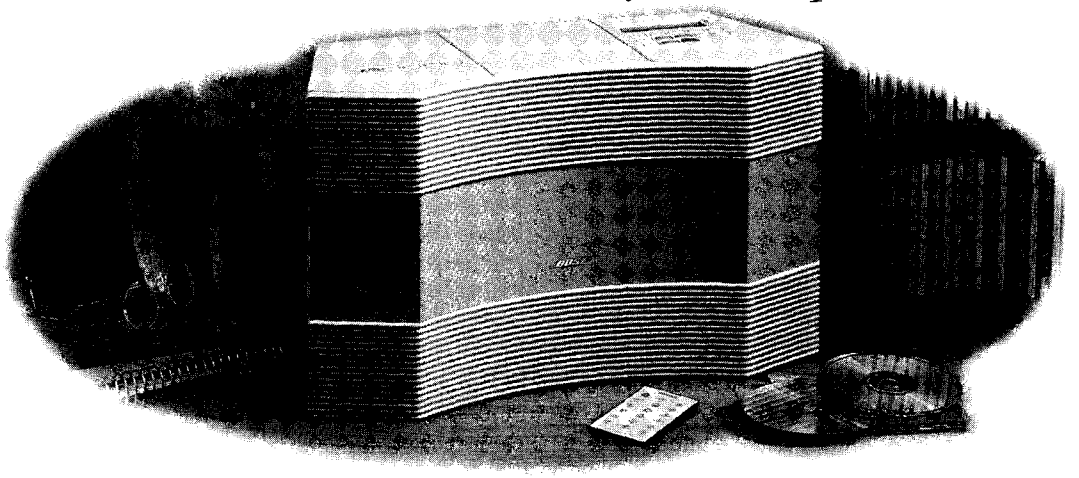

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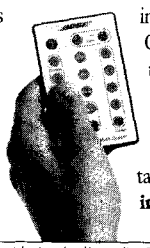

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alongside a hard-hat construction worker or a suburban golfer in plaid pants. But such preferences take some explaining. Hence not merely the taste for—but the absolute necessity of—complex explanations.

And all of this is in service of the notion of separating oneself from one's fellow citizens who are not sophisticated enough to rise above simple loyalties. A wonderful example of such self-infatuation comes from Barbara Kingsolver, commenting on patriotism:

> Patriotism threatens free speech with death. It is infuriated by thoughtful hesitation, constructive criticism of our leaders, and pleas for peace. It despises people of foreign birth who've spent years learning our culture and contributing their talents to our economy . . . In other words, the American flag stands for intimidation, censorship, violence, bigotry, sexism, homophobia and shoving the Constitution through a paper-shredder.

Despite its obvious intellectual deficiencies, counter-tribalism has advanced considerably in recent years. Many of America's troubles stem in part from the fact that it is the first nation with a dissident ruling class. Our elites in government, cultural institutions, the courts, the media, and even business have increasingly adopted the view that the American people are racist, sexist, and homophobic, and that it is therefore a prime duty of government to protect other people from them. In the current crisis, commentators have been predicting a vast national pogrom against American Muslims and have had desperately to exaggerate the relatively few (if shameful) incidents that have occurred to avoid disappointing their readers. In foreign policy, the first instinct of diplomatic elites when faced with a hostile attack is not to "overreact." What makes the situation worse is that the elites have had some success in inculcating counter-tribalism into a large lumpenintelligentsia of teachers, librarians, researchers, small-town-newspaper "liberals," clergymen, and assorted ancillary brainworkers. As journalist Mark Steyn has pointed out, in his own district the local teachers and clergymen were primarily concerned not to allow the reactions of the local people to degenerate into patriotic national sentiment. Twenty years of inculcating multiculturalist clichés into people has made the old expressions of patriotic sentiment seem taboo and even racist to some ears.

Will the terrorist attack change all this? Will it provoke a cultural change in America that will make patriotism seem more natural to the elites? Will it, indeed, mean that a different America will develop a wider and more inclusive patriotism, one more likely to defeat the multicultural platitudes in vogue until recently? All these things are possible. But they will not happen by themselves. In particular, they will not happen without intellectual and moral effort on the part of people who know that patriotism is a virtue perfectly compatible with other virtues such as a genuine easygoing tolerance. Indeed, an American patriotism (and, I would add, a British one) would be among other things a celebration of tolerance. A first step in present circumstances, however, is to reveal the arguments of the counter-tribalists for the shallow, silly, self-regarding snobbery they undoubtedly are. **NR**

Blame America First . . .

. . . or Israel—whichever

RAMESH PONNURU

AMERICA is guilty. America is always guilty. Even when it's attacked. So it appears, at least, to a certain type of commentator. When the Towers fell, when the Pentagon was pierced, when thousands of our countrymen were slaughtered—the America Last pundits were there to explain how we had brought these calamities on ourselves. We were attacked, they explained, because we had angered the world. Had we not walked out of the Durban conference? Had we not spurned the Kyoto Protocol? Osama bin Laden, environmentalist in a hurry.

What has drawn the most fire, of course, is America's alliance with Israel. Critics of that alliance, on both the left and the right, have argued that but for it we would never have been attacked. The bluntest statements have appeared in the British press. In an article for the *Observer* called "Who Will Dare Damn Israel?" Richard Ingrams wrote that "the undeniable and central fact behind the disaster [is] that Israel is now and has been for some time an American colony." Also in the *Observer*, Edward Said blamed America's "support for the 34-year-old Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories." Similar views, more obliquely expressed, have appeared in the American media.

It follows from this position that America cannot defend itself from terrorism without disassociating itself from Israel. The thesis was expounded at length in *Salon*, a liberal online magazine, by its executive editor, Gary Kamiya. "We must pressure Israel to take the concrete steps necessary to provide justice for the Palestinian people," he wrote; we must demonstrate to Islamic states "that it is a new day, that Israel is not the tail that wags the American dog." Otherwise, we will never enjoy peace.

A more modest version of this view has found a home in the Bush administration, especially in its State Department: We must push Israel toward peace with Arab countries in order to get those countries to join our war on terrorism.

All of these supposed connections between the September 11 attacks and American policy toward Israel are extremely dubious. It is almost certainly not the case that we could have subdued our attackers' wrath by forsaking Israel; we will probably not win friends by doing so now; and it is very unlikely the case that we must make "progress" on the Arab–Israeli conflict to fight terrorism.

Let's start with bin Laden's motives, about which we need not speculate. He had his declaration of jihad against America published in February 1998. (This is the document in which he declared, "To kill Americans and their allies, both civil and military, is an individual duty of every Muslim who is able.") His bill of particulars against America mentions, first, the U.S. "occupation" of Saudi Arabia. On his

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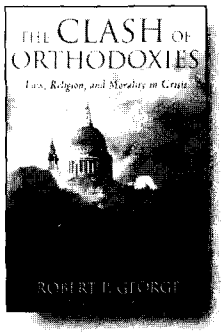

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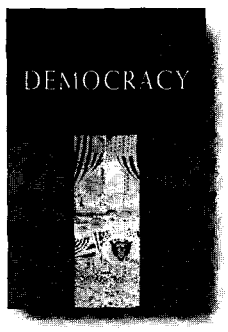

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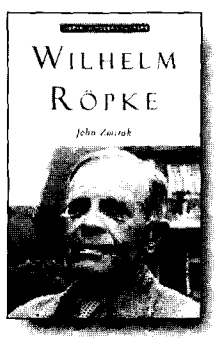

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deathbed, the Prophet Mohammed is said to have demanded that only Muslims dwell in the holy land of Arabia; the American presence—a presence that we do not maintain, please note, for the purpose of protecting Israel—is therefore a desecration. (The idea of killing random people to protect the holy land is, however, a modern innovation rather than orthodox Islamic doctrine.) Bin Laden's second complaint concerns our policies against Iraq. Only then does the declaration turn to "the petty state of the Jews" and "their occupation of Jerusalem and their killing of Muslims in it."

The radical Islamists' broader quarrel is with American power: not with the uses of that power, but with the fact of it. We are infidels. And we are liberal, capitalist, modern, powerful, and rich; therefore hated. Former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu made the point well when he wrote in the aftermath of the September massacres that the Islamists do not hate the West because of Israel; they hate Israel because of the West. They call us, not Israel, "the Great Satan."

Obviously, our friendship with Israel increases the hostility of Arabs and Muslims toward us. But short of abandoning Israel altogether, what are we to do about that? It is not as though American policy has been simply and unequivocally pro-Israel. Soviet arms protected the infant state in 1948, while America imposed an embargo. America stopped Israel (along with Britain and France) from toppling the Egyptian regime in 1956, and stopped Israel from pushing for further military victories at the end of the 1973 war. Camp David was, in part, an American bribe to get Israel to return the Sinai to Egypt; and a deal between Egypt and Israel would probably have been easier to conclude had Jimmy Carter not insisted on addressing Palestinian grievances too. The Reagan administration joined the rest of the world in condemning Israel for bombing Iraq's Osiraq nuclear plant in 1981; a year later, it helped rescue Yasser Arafat from the Israelis in Lebanon.

During the Gulf War, Washington vetoed Israel's plans to protect itself from Iraqi missiles. In the early 1990s, the first Bush administration worked to bring down Yitzhak Shamir's government because it was deemed too intransigent toward the Palestinians; in the late 1990s, the Clinton administration worked against Netanyahu's government for the same reason. There is good reason to think that it was American pressure that brought Israel in 1993 to Oslo and thereafter kept it participating in the "peace process" inaugurated there.

The point is not that America has been anti-Israel, which would be an absurd contention. It is that Kamiya's counsel that it is "time for America to start throwing its weight around . . . with Israel" comes much too late. Israel does not wag the American dog. A policy of pressure on Israel would not be a bold departure from past policy. It would be more of the same. And it is worth noting that none of these calibrations of American policy have bought us any credit among those who hate us (nor, for that matter, have our military interventions to save Muslims' lives in Bosnia and Kosovo).

For decades, many of us have preferred to pretend that Arabs' demands of Israel were moderate and reasonable, and that we could appease them with moderate and reasonable policies of our own. But it should now be clear for all with eyes to see that their hostility to Israel is not primarily about settlements on the West Bank or even the occupation (what's left of it). They oppose the Jewish state's existence. Their solution to the "Arab–Israeli problem" is the final solution: Israel's destruction. As long as Americans are an obstacle to that dream, it will be held against us.

Yet the fundamental problem in the Mideast is not the existence of the Israeli state. It is the despotism of the Arab states. There is not a market democracy in the bunch. These states are corrupt and brutal. They are theocracies, or precarious autocracies, or secular totalitarian states: tyrannies all, deniers of freedom, republics of fear, enemies of civility and human flourishing. (The outlines of another such state can be seen in the Palestinian Authority.) They are governments that make constant war on their own peoples. They cannot make peace because they are not at peace themselves.

There may be occasions when America can ally with some of those states, as we did during the Gulf War. On these occasions, there is no need to mollify public opinion in the Arab world—whatever "public opinion" would mean in this unfree context—by pressuring Israel. A decade ago, a lot of people suggested that there had to be "linkage" between the Israeli–Palestinian and American–Iraqi conflicts: We would have to address the former to win the latter. The U.S. largely resisted the demand for linkage, with the significant exception of barring Israel from participating in the coalition against Iraq. As it turned out, the linkage worked the other way: Having won the war, America was in a better position to force the PLO to the table. (That we made a mess of things once this occurred does not invalidate the point.)

The Arab states responded to power used with resolve. Later, they responded to American weakness. America's position in the Mideast slipped as it became clear that we were not serious about ending the Iraqi threat—and that Israel was tiring of its permanent war footing. To turn away from our ally now would be regarded, too, as weakness.

And rightly so. It is one thing to make a case on the merits that our foreign policies should be changed. Perhaps we should end our alliance with Israel. Perhaps we should remove our troops from Saudi Arabia, or lift the sanctions on Iraq. But not under duress. A policy designed to keep from offending people who might be inclined to attack us is a policy of preemptive capitulation to terrorists. In his address to Congress, President Bush explained why the terrorists kill: "With every atrocity they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends." The terrorists' hope is the frank advice of those who would have us back away from Israel because of the September 11 attacks.

Dishonorable in principle, such a policy would also fail in practice. There would be no obvious stopping-point to it. Having seen terrorism accomplish its objectives in the Mideast, why should North Korea not use it to make us withdraw our protection from South Korea? Beijing could sponsor terrorism until we let it swallow Taiwan. In the past, Puerto Rican *independistas* have resorted to terror. Etc. Shall we capitulate to them all?

Here, then, is the true strategy being recommended to America: Curl up and die. **NR**

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End Iraq

To conclude the Gulf War, ten years later

RICHARD LOWRY

COLIN POWELL helped save Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War, and seems bent on saving him again. If Saddam escapes the full wrath of the U.S. war on terrorism, he will once more have Powell and the dictates of a great international coalition to thank. It was to preserve the Gulf War coalition—for what exactly, no one knows—that Powell, as chairman of the Joint Chiefs, urged the first President Bush to stop short of Baghdad in 1991. Now, as secretary of state, Powell is urging George W. to lay off the Iraqi dictator for the purpose of keeping intact yet another broad international coalition. Saddam should be the biggest fan of U.S. "multilateralism" this side of 1 U.N. Plaza.

Early indications are that Iraq had a hand in the September 11 attacks. But firm evidence should be unnecessary for the U.S. to act. It doesn't take careful detective work to know that Saddam Hussein is a perpetual enemy of the United States. But it's more than a personal matter. Iraq's Baathist regime will be totalitarian and expansionist, Saddam or no. Accordingly, the solution to the Iraqi problem needs to go deeper than a random assassination: It must destroy the Baathist regime root and branch. At the very least, Iraq should be allowed to be dismembered by its perpetually warring factions, or, ideally, invaded and occupied by the American military and made into a protectorate.

Saddam Hussein by Ismael Roldan

If an ineffectual U.N. liberalism characterized Clinton policy toward Saddam—resolutions, inspections, etc.—it was a desiccated realism that left him in power in the first place. The first Bush's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, and other Bushies made a fetish of borders. In this case, the casual handiwork of the British Foreign Office—which outlined modern Iraq with a pencil and ruler in 1918—was elevated to high geopolitical art. The entity called "Iraq" had to be kept together at all costs. As Daniel Byman explained in a 1996 *National Interest* article, "Washington therefore wanted the Kurdish and Shi'a revolts to succeed to the extent that they would cause Saddam's downfall, but not to the extent that they would lead to national dismemberment." The result of this attempted fine-tuning was no success at all.

The caution displayed here was rank foolishness. Nothing is so dangerous as leaving an aggrieved enemy hanging on and able to strike back—he should either be befriended outright (the French approach) or destroyed. Hannibal allegedly was made to take an oath of eternal enmity toward the Romans by his father, who lost the First Punic war—thus laying the predicate for the Second. Saddam needn't yet pass on such a pledge to his psychopath son Uday or to the younger Qusay (one of whom will probably end up killing the other, if the rules of Arab politics hold). Saddam has, in effect, taken the oath himself.

The bare minimum of U.S. action should be an effort to kill Saddam—from precision cruise-missile strikes to bribes of his close associates—and to topple his regime by proxy. The U.S. should seriously arm and support Iraqi opposition groups. A bombing campaign on their behalf could, among other things, create a "no drive" zone for Iraqi vehicles in the north and south. No exaggerated claims should be made for the opposition—which contains, no doubt, its share of thieves and opportunists—but at least it could be trusted to plunge the country into chaos, and perhaps to dismantle it, since it is so ripe for falling apart. In a description still apt today, Iraq's King Faisal I said of his "country" in 1933, "There is still no Iraqi people, but unimaginable masses of human beings, devoid of any patriotic ideal . . . connected by no common tie, giving ear to evil, prone to anarchy, and perpetually ready to rise against any government whatsoever."

In the above-sketched scenario, the United States would be willing to let the fissiparous resentments of Iraq—the Kurdish north, the Sunni middle, the Shiite south—play themselves out on the theory that a hopeless muddle would be an improvement over a dangerous regime. Several strategic objections are often raised to breaking up Iraq. Turkey, an important U.S. ally with a restive Kurdish population of its own, wouldn't relish an independent Kurdish entity to its south. And the Gulf states wouldn't welcome the resulting uncertainty. But the grand Scowcroftian reason for preserving Iraq—that it can balance Iran in the Persian Gulf—is a nice-sounding theory utterly unhinged from reality. "It is senseless to think in these terms," as Daniel Byman points out, "in circumstances where Iraq is roughly as hostile to many of the potential targets of Iranian aggression as is Iran itself."

The greatest risk would be to U.S. moral sensitivities. To help push Iraq into chaos and then stand aside would require abiding uncertainty about the ultimate result in Iraq and a willingness to ignore heart-wrenching humanitarian disasters (refugees, ethnic massacres). It would be a mistake for the U.S. to embark on this course and then—as dismaying pic-

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tures started to come in via CNN—decide that it wanted to try to influence the final result after all. This would create a situation in which the U.S. would be merely responding to, rather than firmly shaping, events (as in Vietnam). If we prefer not to court the uncertainty, but to follow instead a path that would oust the Iraqi regime quickly and be much cleaner, the U.S. should jettison half-measures and invade and occupy Iraq.

■

We occupy the Balkans to very little strategic purpose. Why not undertake an occupation where it really matters?

■

The United States could pull off an invasion with the help of only Britain, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. It would require a significant buildup, a long air campaign against all of Saddam's military assets, and finally a land invasion (which would be a strain, given the troop drawdown that brought the endlessly costly "peace dividend" of the 1990s). The main attack, as NR contributing editor John Hillen has argued, would be launched from Saudi Arabia toward Baghdad, with air support smashing Iraqi forces whenever they massed either to fight or to flee. Pre-invasion, the U.S. would work closely with some sort of Free Iraqi government, making it clear that the war was against the regime and not the Iraqi people. American forces would probably enjoy a reception from the locals much warmer than that accorded the ROTC on many college campuses.

An American occupation would not last years, on the model of a MacArthur regency in Japan. Instead, the U.S. would quickly—say, after less than a year—hand control of the country over to a U.N. protectorate, with some Arab input to soothe feelings and a non-American—some anodyne European, such as a Swede—running the show. He would in effect act as Iraqi dictator, but without the brace of pistols. After five years or so, as Iraq's public institutions were firmed up, the baton could be passed to an Iraqi government that one would hope would be thoroughly democratic—but that would at a minimum be pro-Western and capitalist. The entire effort would represent a return to an enlightened paternalism toward the Third World, premised on the idea that the Arabs have failed miserably at self-government and need to start anew.

We occupy the Balkans to very little strategic purpose, except perhaps to keep the Europeans from complaining too loudly. Why not undertake an occupation where it really matters? The ideal would be to duplicate the best of British colonialism in India, where the rule of law and other important institutions (e.g., the civil service) helped make India the functioning democracy it is today. But the model to avoid would be, as it happens, the British in Iraq. After installing a Sunni king in 1921, they had to bomb the Shiites in the south into submission. The U.S. would, undoubtedly, set for itself an extremely delicate political and diplomatic task. The goal, however, would not be perfection, but a pro-Western and reasonably successful regime, somewhere between the Shah of Iran and the current government of Turkey.

A functioning, mostly free, and relatively rich Iraq would have several advantages over Saddam's country, and over chaos: In moral terms, it would represent a great improvement in the lives of average Iraqis. It would bring strategic stability to the region, freeing the Gulf states from the constant fear of invasion. It would be an embarrassment—and perhaps a spur to change—to the rest of the corrupt regimes in the region, providing a model of free-market success. It would guarantee the West's access to oil, and perhaps help break up OPEC (the ill-gotten gains from which fund repressive dictatorships and, indirectly, terrorists). And it would be a nice economic benefit to the United States: If the Teamsters like drilling in ANWR, they should love occupying Iraq.

Most important, either of these options—breakup or occupation—would bring a rightful, if belated, end to the Gulf War by ending the Baathist regime. According to the U.N.'s Rolf Ekeus, he was once told by the head of Iraq's missile program, "Iraq needs its military equipment. The war is not over. It was only a ceasefire." Exactly. **NR**

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The Unrelenting and Virulent Hatred of the Arabs

Will peace be possible under those conditions?

After over fifty years of statehood, Israel is a lone outpost of Western civilization and its values. The Arab nations surrounding it are a swamp of terrorism, corruption, dictatorship, and human enslavement. But the hatred of the Arabs against Israel and against all Jews is so abiding and so virulent that peace, at least for the foreseeable future, seems to be most unlikely.

What are the facts?

No "Sacrifice" Will Overcome the Hatred: Many still believe that the conflict between the Arabs and the Jews could be settled if the Israelis were willing to bring greater "sacrifices for peace". Such "sacrifices" would include relinquishing ever-larger portions of their tiny country (less than half the size of San Bernardino County in California) to the Palestinians, dismantling the "settlements" in Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank"), handing the Golan Heights to Syria, and allowing the "return of the refugees" a group that has grown miraculously from about 500,000 to somewhere around 5 million, and the absorption of even a substantial fraction of which would signify the demographic end of the Jewish state. But by now, after over one year of the bloody war against Israel in the Al Aksa Intifada, it is clear to even the most confirmed "doves", to even the most ardent supporters of the "Oslo Peace Process," that absolutely nothing that Israel could do, any further "sacrifice" that Israel were prepared to bring would satisfy the Arabs and would promote peace. The sad but irrefutable conclusion is that only the complete disappearance of Israel, its annihilation, its being wiped off the map could satisfy the Arabs and most of the Moslem world.

During his recent visit to Syria, the Pope listened to Bashar-al-Asad, the President of Syria, declare that "...the Jews have betrayed Jesus Christ, with the same mentality with which they tried to betray and kill the prophet Mohammed." (Disappointingly, the Pope did not protest this canard, either right then or at a later date.) Saddam Hussein, the tyrant of Iraq, expressed the wishes of his country and of the Arab world with the succinct entreaty "God damn the Jews."

> "Israel's only course...is to assume its previous stance of unflinching deterrence...and not to be inhibited...to preempt resolutely if it appears necessary to assure survival of the country."

Mortal Hatred and the "Big Lie": The "big lie," invented by the notorious Joseph Goebbels of Nazi infamy, is a mainstay of Arab hatred and propaganda. In Egypt and Jordan (the two Arab countries technically at peace with Israel), government-controlled news sources published that Israel had distributed drug-laced chewing gum and candy to kill children and to make women sexually corrupt. The Jews (Israelis) are being accused of having introduced foot-and-mouth disease in the Middle East. The age-old calumny of Jews using the blood of Christian children in order to bake their Passover matzos is alive and well in Arab publications. The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, an egregious falsification originating in Czarist Russia, is a steady best-seller in all Arab countries. Among other malevolent fabrications, it accuses "international Jewry" of "limitless ambition, inexhaustible greed, and hatred beyond imagination."

In the controlled Arab press, Holocaust denial and accusation of the Zionists having been in cahoots with the German Nazis are regular features. Egypt's government-sponsored *Al Akhbar* newspaper has expressed fervent thanks to Adolf Hitler for having taken advance revenge on the "vilest criminals on the face of the earth." Still, it berates him for not having been thorough enough in his task of extermination. The Arabs do not consider Israel a normal country, but a creation of the devil, an excrescence, a malignant force of aggressors, murderers, infidels and barbarians. It should be destroyed, for the glory of God, no matter what sacrifices that might entail.

Mortal hatred against Israel and against the Jews is taught to Arab children from the very first grade. Children are encouraged to sacrifice themselves as martyrs and suicide missiles, with promises that Paradise with unimaginable pleasures awaits those who sacrifice themselves in the holy cause of killing Jews.

This bottomless hatred, a hatred that pervades the Arab world in all strata of society and is incessantly fomented by Arab governments, including those supposed to be "at peace" with Israel, cannot be assuaged by negotiation or by making any further "sacrifices for peace". Nothing will suffice, except the destruction, the complete disappearance of Israel. The Arab states, having been unable in over fifty years and in many wars to defeat and exterminate the hated Jews, are now feverishly arming themselves with "conventional weapons" (easily purchased from the West, including, sad to say, from the United States), and are ardently pursuing the development of weapons of mass annihilation. Just as the suicide bombers do not vacillate to sacrifice themselves, one can safely expect that, once in possession of such weapons, the Arabs will not hesitate to sacrifice millions of their own people in order to destroy Israel. Israel's only course in the face of this almost certain prospect is to assume its previous stance of unflinching deterrence and, as it once did in the destruction of the Iraqi atomic reactor at Osirak in 1981, not to be inhibited by "international opinion" to preempt resolutely if it appears necessary to assure survival of the country.

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What It Takes

Our present situation resembles Korea

ANDREW J. BACEVICH

THE comparisons between the events of September 11 and the attack on Pearl Harbor 60 years ago have been as numerous as they have been apt. But to appreciate fully the challenge we face, a different historical comparison may be in order—for the situation confronting the U.S. today bears more than a passing resemblance to the situation created when Communist North Korea invaded the south in June 1950.

That attack, too, caught the United States sadly unprepared. Like this September's terror attacks, Pyongyang's aggression thrust Americans into a conflict unlike any they had known before. U.S. officials scrambled to devise a vocabulary suited to a situation without precedent. (The ridicule that President Truman endured for describing Korea as a "police action" serves as a reminder of the penalty for choosing unwisely.) In this new kind of war, it was said, traditional expectations of victory did not apply. Many Americans bridled at this notion. As the fighting dragged on, they became frustrated and impatient. They seized upon the first available national election to express their displeasure, turning out of office the party they held responsible for the war's unsatisfactory progress.

Even today, opinion remains divided on the Truman administration's conduct of the war. Among conservatives, the view expressed by Gen. MacArthur after Truman sacked him in 1951—"there is no substitute for victory"—retains considerable allure.

But the Korean War—and this is a point MacArthur never accepted—was never just about defeating a Communist attempt to overrun the south; the conflict occurred within a larger strategic context. Unmistakable evidence of growing U.S. vulnerabilities, famously catalogued in the document NSC 68, had already begun to accumulate, but—prior to Korea—Truman had been unable to summon up the political will to reverse these trends. Once the war was joined, the president, to his enduring credit, used aggression on the periphery as an occasion to reinforce the center. He rebuilt U.S. military power, strengthened America's commitment to defending key regions (notably, Western Europe and Japan), and redoubled efforts to maintain a credible nuclear deterrent.

Similar considerations apply to how we should approach what President Bush has labeled "the first war of the twenty-first century." Administration officials have rightly proclaimed their determination to bring the attackers to justice, and the president has mortgaged his political future to the outcome of an all-out campaign to eliminate global terror. But the real test looms larger still. To define U.S. objectives too narrowly—as a war against Osama bin Laden and his ilk—is to exhibit a MacArthur-like shortsightedness. As a measure of strategic success, making an end of terrorists is necessary but not sufficient. As Truman did with Korea, we must prosecute the campaign against terror with one eye fixed on the larger game, namely shoring up and relegitimizing American global preeminence. In that sense, although the current crisis obliges Bush to deal with a danger to our security, it also presents him—as Korea did Truman—with a strategic opportunity.

To be sure, the obstacles to seizing this opportunity are formidable. Over the short term, the administration must focus on retaliation; but quick retaliatory strikes may well be in tension with efforts to make real progress toward uprooting terrorism. However great the public's eagerness to destroy our adversaries, the availability of intelligence—not martial fervor—should dictate the tempo of military operations; but, as the events of September 11 indicate, the capabilities of the U.S. government in this regard fall well short of adequate. The U.S. has plenty of guns, but we don't know where to point them or when to pull the trigger. Nor should we place much confidence in our ability to anticipate our adversary's next move. Correcting that gaping deficiency will require not only money and hard work but also time. In the near term, the best hope for compensating for the defects of our own apparatus may lie in securing assistance from states whose intelligence services are better situated to keep tabs on terror.

The cooperation of others—not only to gain intelligence, but also to secure access to bases and air space and to deny terrorists external support—is a prerequisite for the near-term success without which domestic support for the overall enterprise may fade. Pragmatic considerations, not deference to the mythical "international community," should caution us against any inclination to go it alone, and should mandate a degree of restraint in the use of force.

To the extent that the perpetrators of terror (as opposed to states that tolerate terror) remain the principal objects of attention, this war will bear scant resemblance to a traditional military campaign. Action will tend to be sporadic; it will vary greatly, from intense air strikes to commando-style raids to operations mounted by police authorities instead of soldiers; most of the operations will occur on a relatively small scale; and some may remain invisible to the public. But unlike episodes of the Clinton era, when the U.S. used force to make a show of resolve, these will have as their aim the step-by-step demolition of the enemy apparatus. Observers at home may have a difficult time discerning how the various activities add up to a coherent whole, and the Bush administration will be hard-pressed to explain how a clutch of seemingly disparate actions occurring over time signifies progress—but making that case will be essential.

Although the fight to root out terror will little resemble combat in Korea, it may well elicit comparable feelings of frustration and impatience. The administration is warning Americans to expect a long struggle, but the reliance on

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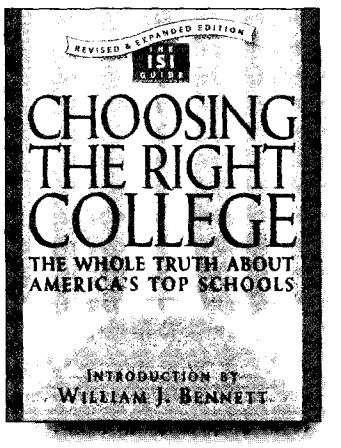
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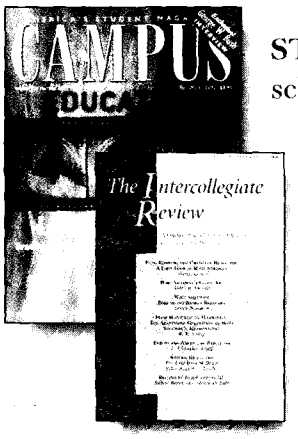

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terms like "war" and "campaign" to drum up popular support conjures up images and builds expectations that, however inadvertently, create a potential for subsequent disappointment. The pressure on Bush to meet those expectations by showing signs of real progress is already considerable and will only increase as the weeks, months, or years go by.

Worse, the bin Laden organization and its supporters are unlikely to sit passively and allow the U.S. to conduct this campaign on its own terms. Nor, in a sense, do we want them to do so: If they resume their own campaign they will expose themselves and facilitate their own destruction. Yet as we have learned at far too great a cost, our opponents are not only without scruples, they can mount sophisticated, daring, and imaginative operations. The possibility of setbacks is real. As the U.S. experience in Mogadishu in 1993 reminds us, possessing an edge in firepower and technology is no guarantee against failure. Given an adversary with sufficient cunning or monstrousness, the level of violence could increase dramatically.

Yet if the administration succeeds in maintaining a modicum of international acquiescence or support, along with solid domestic backing, there is no reason the U.S. should not ultimately prevail. What will victory mean? Bush's more expansive claims notwithstanding, the U.S. cannot expect to eradicate evil. But it can make a recurrence of September 11 or anything like it highly unlikely. This alone will qualify as a formidable achievement; but even that will not be enough. The war against terror provides the occasion to pursue a thoroughgoing rejuvenation of national security policy.

Just as Korea focused our attention on the need to be prepared for aggression by the Red Army or its surrogates, the current crisis should increase our awareness of today's true dangers: not the prospect of invasion by mechanized armies, but regional disorders that undermine American-enforced stability. U.S. forces, still for the most part organized as they were during the Cold War, should be reconfigured accordingly. Truman built up U.S. power in a Europe exposed to Soviet intimidation; the current crisis is the moment to begin the long-overdue redistribution of U.S. forces away from a Europe fully capable of defending itself. Washington should reposition those troops to areas where U.S. interests are more likely to be at risk—e.g., Asia.

Finally, just as Korea triggered a major effort to increase U.S. nuclear-strike power, so today the Bush administration needs to expand our capabilities for long-range precision strikes using conventional weapons. These weapons have become America's trump card—a category in which the U.S. has, and must retain, undisputed superiority.

In June 1950, Kim Il Sung posed a large problem for the U.S. But he was not *the* problem. Stalin was, and Truman never lost sight of that fact. The problem today is not a scattering of global terrorists, but a whole raft of challenges to American economic, military, and political primacy; and now is the time to reconfigure the instruments of U.S. power to meet these challenges. **NR**

Master of His Game

Bill Clinton talks on, and talks on

BYRON YORK

REMEMBER Bill Clinton's search for a legacy? His anxiety about his place in history was never far from his mind, but it reached a high point during his second term, when he sometimes lamented that he had not faced any crises to test his presidential mettle. "The first thing I had to start with was, you know, we don't have a war," he told the *New York Times* in December 1997. "We don't have a depression, we don't have a Cold War."

Clinton would find his legacy the very next month, when the Monica Lewinsky scandal burst into public view. But now, in the aftermath of the attacks on New York and Washington, the former president appears to be working to shape a new legacy as a leader in the fight against terrorism.

In the days after September 11, Clinton made a series of public statements claiming his administration came very close to killing Islamic terrorist Osama bin Laden during a cruise-missile raid on Afghanistan three years ago. Touring downtown Manhattan on September 13, Clinton said, "The best shot we had at him was when I bombed his training camps in 1998. We just missed him by a matter of hours, maybe even less than an hour." A few days later, on NBC, Clinton said, "We had quite good intelligence that he and his top lieutenants would be in his training camp. So I ordered the cruise-missile attacks, and we didn't tell anybody, including the Pakistanis, whose airspace we had to travel over, until the last minute. And unfortunately we missed them, apparently not by very long. . . . We never had another chance where the intelligence was as reliable to justify military action."

The former president's statements left the impression that he was hot on bin Laden's trail, but one of Clinton's top military commanders has a different recollection.

The former president's statements left the impression that he was hot on bin Laden's trail, but one of Clinton's top military commanders, who was deeply involved in the Afghanistan operation, has a different recollection. In an interview with NATIONAL REVIEW, retired general Anthony

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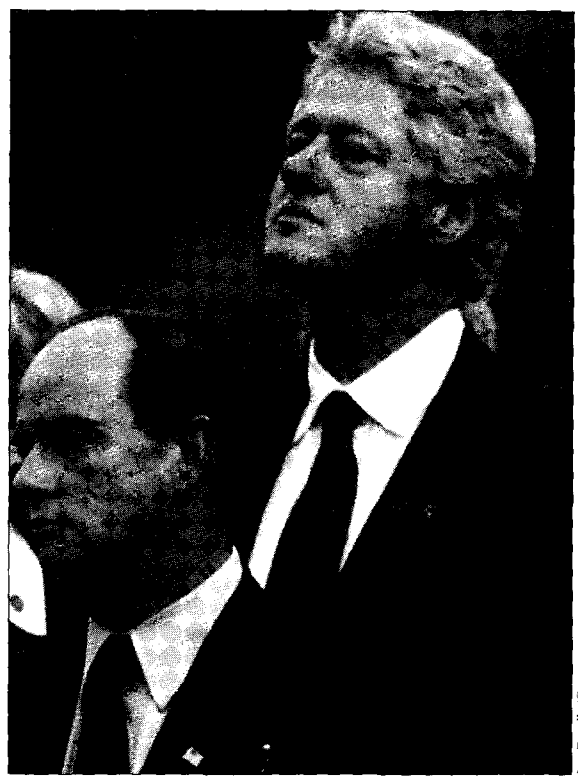
Zinni, commander of U.S. forces in the region at that time, described the cruise-missile raid as a "million-to-one shot." "There was a possibility [bin Laden] could have been there," Zinni recalled. "My intelligence people did not put a lot of faith in that. . . . As I was given this mission to do, I did not see that anyone had any degree of assurance or reliability that that was going to happen." Zinni continued: "In weighing that out, without great intelligence, it's a million-to-one shot. Should you take it? Yes—you might get something, but in the absence of that, you can send [bin Laden] a message, maybe cause him to go off balance and set him back a little bit."

At the time, the Clinton White House claimed the raid was just the beginning of an extended assault on terrorism. But the assault didn't continue. In fact, despite Clinton's ongoing effort to justify his actions, his administration's record is a richly detailed manual of how *not* to conduct a war on terrorism. In virtually every case in which Clinton confronted the terrorist threat, he did one of three things: a) limited his response to a law-enforcement investigation that focused on mid-level terrorist operatives while not touching the higher-ups and state sponsors who were behind the attacks; b) retaliated with pinprick military strikes that had no serious effect on their targets; c) did nothing.



Joe Raedle/Getty

Clinton at prayer service, Sept. 23, Yankee Stadium

In February 1993, when Clinton had been in office a little more than a month, terrorists bombed the World Trade Center, killing six people and injuring more than 1,000. A few days after the explosion, when authorities knew it was the result of a bomb but did not know who had set it, Clinton warned Americans against "overreacting," and, in an interview on MTV, said he felt sad for the victims, who had suffered "because somebody did something very stupid." In the investigation that followed, administration officials discounted evidence pointing toward Iraqi involvement and concentrated instead on a theory that the bombing was carried out by a loose confederation of terrorists acting without state support. "They missed a huge opportunity," says a senior official in Clinton's administration who asked not to be named. "They effectively put blinders on, and they found it convenient not to confront a state, because then they would have had to do something."

In April 1993, still less than six months into his first term, Clinton confronted terrorism again when the White House learned of an Iraqi plot to assassinate former president George H. W. Bush. This time, there was no question about state involvement; Saddam Hussein himself was behind the plan. After two months of deliberation over what to do, Clinton launched 23 cruise missiles at Iraqi intelligence headquarters in Baghdad, to no great effect. "They thought and thought and thought about it and fired a few cruise missiles into empty buildings," says the former senior official. "I think Saddam probably laughed in the morning when he woke up and saw that."

A pattern was set, and although terrorist attacks against U.S. interests became increasingly violent in the following years, Clinton's responses did not change appreciably. In June 1996 a bomb went off outside the Khobar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 American soldiers. Clinton vowed to retaliate, but in the end did not. In August 1998, bombs exploded at U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya, killing 263 people, including 12 Americans. Two weeks later, Clinton launched the hapless missile raid on Afghanistan (and another equally ineffectual attack on a pharmaceutical factory in Sudan). In October 2000, terrorists on a bomb-laden boat attacked the USS *Cole* in Yemen, killing 17 American sailors. Clinton, in his final three months in office, again vowed to fight back, but did not.

It's a record that some former Clinton aides find difficult to defend. "Clearly, not enough was done," former deputy attorney general Jamie Gorelick told the *Boston Globe*. Former National Security Council aide Nancy Soderberg added, "It wasn't enough, and anyone involved in policy would have to admit that." And Tara Sonenshine, another former NSC aide, told Cox News Service, "Bill Clinton was a big believer in international coalitions to address international terrorism. The problem is often in the implementation. Once you get beyond saying the right words, concrete steps are necessary."

No one doubts that Clinton was very good at saying the right words. And now, he's still talking. Since September 11, he's held news conferences with New York mayor Rudy Giuliani. He's held news conferences walking along the street. He's held news conferences virtually everywhere. And each time he talks, he defends his record, portraying himself as tough on terrorism. On September 22, for example, he told reporters that he once ordered the training of commandos whose assignment would be to kill bin Laden, but that the mission was never undertaken due to lack of good intelligence. Now, he says, George W. Bush might do better—not because he is any more determined to fight terrorism than Bill Clinton was, but because he has more international support. "I think," Clinton said, "we can do this." **NR**

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Border Lines

What to do about immigration after 9/11

JOHN J. MILLER

On the day hijackers slammed their jumbo jets into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the House of Representatives was scheduled to vote on a measure the pro-immigration lobby has wanted for years. It's called "245(i)," and it would have let illegal aliens adjust their status without leaving the United States. In other words, people living in this country in violation of its immigration laws would be able, when eligible, to pick up green cards at their local INS office—as opposed to having to travel abroad to seek them at consular offices. This is another example of how official Washington winks at illegal immigration, and it would have won easy approval but for the emergency evacuation of the House Chamber.

A lot changed on September 11. The 245(i) provision may still pass—it's pretty popular among politicians because there's a specific constituency for it—but there won't be any more talk about a broad amnesty for illegal aliens. (Opponents probably wouldn't hesitate to point out that one of the men responsible for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing became a legal resident because of the last amnesty, in 1986.) To the extent that the amnesty measure survives at all, it will downshift into a guest-worker program for agriculture, whose advocates feel compelled to speak in terms of what they call "food security."

The whole immigration debate has moved dramatically away from questions of access to those of control. Attorney General John Ashcroft already has released a new set of detention and deportation rules that allow the INS to hold people without charges for 48 hours (it used to be 24), and also to hold them indefinitely in "extraordinary" circumstances—a term that, not coincidentally, now applies to some 75 suspects linked to the massacres. Reformers interested in greater immigrant regulation won't stop there: Congress will also take a close look at border management. In doing so, it can play a useful role in combating terrorism—and illegal immigration, too. But success will require that conservatives keep a narrow focus on security issues and not overreach. Ramesh Ponnuru has shown on these pages how restrictionists on the right have not realized many of their policy goals because of tactical mistakes involving a desire to achieve too much all at once (see "Minding the 'Golden Door,'" April 2). The opportunity now is to improve the border as a tool of enforcement. This will be achieved not by tying other agendas to it—such as a reduction in overall admission quotas, as several members of Congress have suggested—but by enacting a few small steps that may pay big dividends.

One of the most obvious ways to improve border security is to increase the size of the Border Patrol. Congress has doubled the number of agents since the mid 1990s, but has ignored what may be considered America's adjunct Border Patrol: the State Department's consular corps in U.S. embassies. These are the people responsible for issuing tourist, student, and immigrant visas—and they represent a portal many foreigners must pass through before they even set foot on American soil. Roughly half of all illegal aliens got into the U.S. not by swimming across the Rio Grande in the black of night, but by entering with valid visas and then staying past their expiration dates. According to authorities, at least 16 of the 19 hijackers came into the U.S. with legal visas.

Yet the people tasked with reviewing visa applications are overworked and underappreciated. As former foreign-service officer Nikolai Wenzel wrote last year in a Center for Immigration Studies analysis: "In Mexico City, for example, the unrealistically high numbers of daily interviews meant that each officer usually interviewed 150–200 applicants over a span of five to seven hours. This led to an average of about two minutes per application, during which a consular officer had to review documents, ask questions in Spanish, determine whether the applicant qualified for a non-immigrant visa, and fill out the requisite paperwork."

This is no recipe for quality control. The job is demoralizing drudgery reserved for junior foreign-service officers; Wenzel likens it to "hazing in college fraternities." The ambitious ones are desperate to get out, and don't want to make waves. Furthermore, their duty seems particularly unsuited for the State Department, with its understandable bias toward accommodation and diplomacy; the administration of the law ought to be reserved for people whose top concern is enforcement. It would therefore make sense to remove this responsibility from the State Department entirely and give it to another agency that can operate through the embassies and employ a different set of incentives and priorities.

This is no surefire way to keep out all terrorists, but it will lighten the load at the border. Border agents can point to some impressive accomplishments in recent years; in 1999, for example, they arrested Ahmed Ressam as he tried to enter Washington State with 130 pounds of explosives and several timing devices in his car (he was planning to strike at Los Angeles International Airport on the eve of the new millennium). Yet there was also something troubling about Ressam's apprehension: He previously had passed between Canada and the U.S. many times without incident, and apparently did not see a risk in hauling his trunk full of bomb-making equipment across the border at a popular checkpoint.

Nearly half a billion foreigners enter the U.S. each year, and the most stringent demand many of them will face is filling out a form asking where they're headed; the forms are then shipped off to storage, where they probably won't ever be seen again. What the country needs is a high-tech method of tracking foreigners as they enter and leave. Right now, the federal government doesn't even know how many people are in the country with expired visas, let alone who they are or where they live. Five years ago, Congress passed a law to create such a monitoring system, but last

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year it essentially reversed its decision. This effort now should be revived, and the system it creates should have robust, real-time capabilities. When foreigners come to the U.S., the government ought to open a file on them using biometric technology, such as digital thumbprints. This will confound people who try to enter with false identification (which at least some of the hijackers seem to have done) and also overcome technical problems such as the uncertain spelling of names ("Is that Osama with an 'O' or Usama with a 'U,' Mr. bin Laden?").

This is in some ways a dicey proposition: More hoops at the Canadian border will cause longer lines at the Windsor Tunnel, which will hurt commerce. Yet it might also be possible to accommodate frequent travelers with something like the speed-pass lanes on toll roads. More troubling, however, is the prospect of a national ID system that covers not just aliens but citizens as well. Rep. Lamar Smith, a Texas Republican—along with several others —has started calling for this, and if their efforts pick up steam they will split conservatives between those who believe security interests trump everything else, and those who worry that national ID cards will become an instrument of big government.

Congress will definitely want to improve federal supervision of the roughly half-million people who are in the U.S. on student visas. It's not clear whether the hijackers had such visas, though it's reasonable to assume that at least a few of them obtained vocational-training permits called "M visas" that would have allowed them to enroll at aviation academies. In 1996, Congress passed a law that would have allowed instant access to information on student-visa holders—but now, five years later, the program still hasn't been fully implemented because of opposition from universities and foreign-student organizations. Congress should demand that it move online rapidly—surely before the current 2003 deadline—so that the government can keep better tabs not only on who attends flight school but also who switches majors from literature to nuclear engineering.

There are plenty of other necessary steps. The FBI must do a better job of sharing its counterterrorism information with the INS. The bureaucratic culture of the INS itself must change to appreciate its role in fighting terrorism. The Canadians, too, must tighten their own admission procedures: There's a reason why so many terrorists, including five of the September 11 hijackers, enter Canada before attempting to come here.

None of these measures will be a panacea against terrorism, though each would serve as an inhibitor by making the act of terrorism more difficult and the capture of conspirators more likely. In a way, immigrants and foreign visitors are a secret asset against the likes of suicide bombers. Just as many people send remittances to relatives abroad and thereby enrich foreign economies, they also send back ideas—a kind of political remittance that promotes freedom in places that don't know it well. By pursuing a modest agenda on immigration, conservatives can make it harder for the villains to get in, and continue to strengthen those people, worldwide, who are on this country's side. NR

At First Glance

Racial profiling, burning hotter

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

WHETHER you think the present emergency rises to the level of a war or not, one thing that is fast becoming clear is that Americans at large are much more tolerant of racial profiling than they were before the terrorists struck. This fact was illustrated on September 20, when four men "of Middle Eastern appearance" were removed from a Northwest Airlines flight because other passengers refused to fly with them. A Northwest spokesman explained that under FAA rules, "the airline has no choice but to re-accommodate a passenger or passengers if their actions or presence make a majority of passengers uncomfortable and threaten to disrupt normal operations of flight."

Compare this incident with the experience of movie actor James Woods. Woods took a flight from Boston to Los Angeles one week *before* the World Trade Center attacks. The only other people in first class with him were four men "of Middle Eastern appearance" who acted very strangely. During the entire cross-country flight none of them had anything to eat or drink, nor did they read or sleep. They only sat upright in their seats, occasionally conversing with each other in low tones. Woods mentioned what he had noticed to a flight attendant, "who shrugged it off." Arriving in Los Angeles, Woods told airport authorities, but they "seemed unwilling to become involved."

■

If the authorities had been willing to entertain a little straightforward racial profiling—6,000 lives might have been saved.

■

You can see the great change in our attitudes by imagining the consequences if the first incident had happened two weeks earlier, or the second two weeks later. The first would then have generated a nationwide storm of indignation about racial profiling, and stupendous lawsuits; the second, a huge police manhunt for the four men concerned. It seems very likely that Woods witnessed a dry run for the attack on the World Trade Center. One of the planes used in that attack was flying the same Boston–Los Angeles route that Woods flew. If the authorities had acted on his report—if, that is to say, they had been willing to entertain a little straightforward racial profiling—6,000 lives might have been saved.

Civil libertarians are now warning us that in the current climate of crisis and national peril, our ancient liberties

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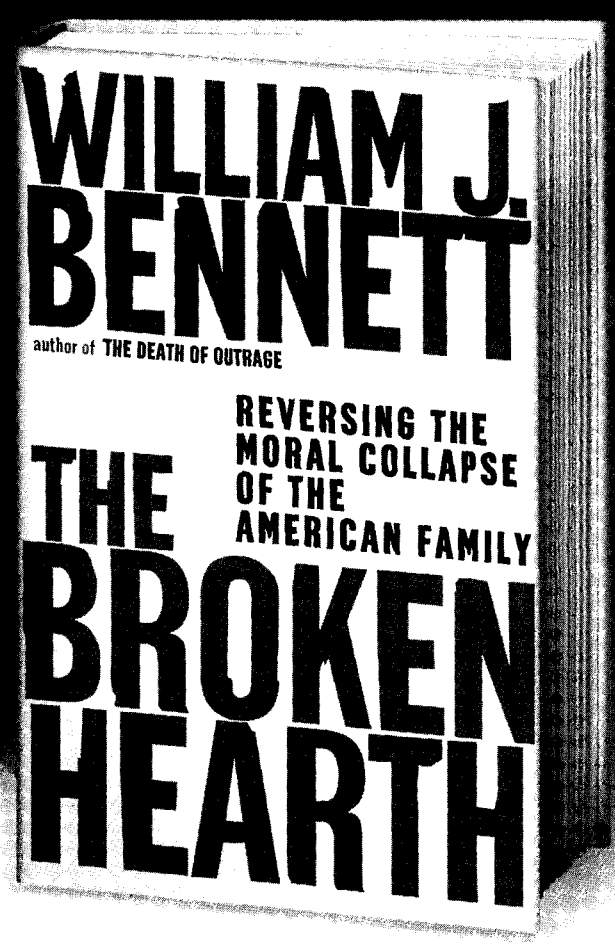
might be sacrificed to the general desire for greater security. They have a point. If truth is the first casualty in war, liberty is often the second. The reason that practically nobody can afford to live in Manhattan who isn't already living there is rent control, a WW II measure, never repealed, that removed a landlord's freedom to let his property at whatever rent the market would bear. But the moral to be drawn from that instance is only that, as legal scholar Bruce Ackerman has recently argued, emergency legislation must never be enacted without a clear "sunset provision": After some fixed period—Ackerman suggests two years—the law must lapse. The civil-liberties crowd does not, in any case, have a dazzling record on the liberties involved in private commercial transactions. What happened to a cabdriver's liberty to use his own judgment about which passengers to pick up? Gone, swept away in the racial-profiling panic of the 1990s, along with the lives of several cabbies.

It is in the matter of proactive law enforcement—the kinds of things that police agencies do to *prevent* crime or terrorism—that our liberties are most at risk in tense times. Whom should you wiretap? Whom should airport security take in for questioning? This is where racial profiling kicks in, with all its ambiguities. Just take a careful look, for example, at that phrase "of Middle Eastern appearance," which I imagine security agencies are already abbreviating OMEA. The last time I wrote about this subject ("The Case for Racial Profiling," February 19), I concentrated on the topics that were in the air at that time: the disproportionate attention police officers give to black and Hispanic persons as crime suspects, and the targeting of Wen Ho Lee in the nuclear-espionage case. I had nothing to say about terrorists from the Middle East, or people who might be thought to look like them. OMEA was not, at that point, an issue.

Now it is, and the problem is that OMEA is perhaps a more dubious description even than "black" or "Hispanic." You can see the difficulties by scanning the photographs of the September 11 hijackers published in our newspapers. A few are unmistak-

If we are to repair the social fabric, the work must begin at home.



The American family is under siege as never before. Now, William J. Bennett mounts a compelling argument in its defense and cites the societal shifts that threaten the future of the nuclear family:

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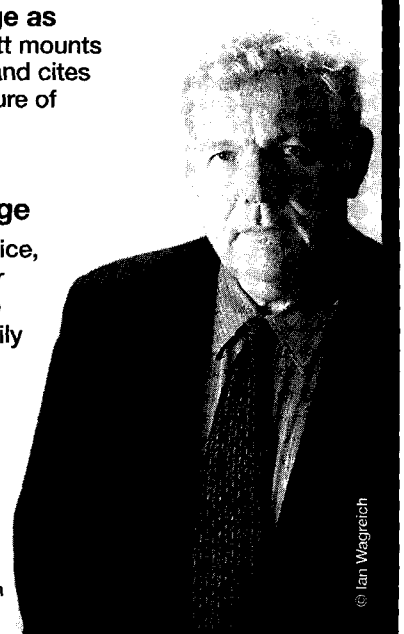

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ably OMEA. My reaction on seeing the photograph of the first to be identified, Mohamed Atta, was that he looked *exactly* like my own mental conception of an Arab terrorist. On the other hand, one of his companions on AA Flight 11, Wail al-Shehri, is the spitting image of a boy I went to school with—a boy of entirely English origins, whose name was Hobson. Ahmed al-Nami (UA Flight 93) looks like a Welsh punk rocker. And so on.

Other visual markers offer similar opportunities for confusion. This fellow with a beard and a turban, coming down the road—he must surely be an Arab, or at least a Muslim? Well, maybe, but he is much more likely to be a Sikh—belonging, that is, to a religion that owes more to Hinduism than to Islam, practiced by non-Arab peoples who speak Indo-European languages, and with scriptures written with a Hindi-style script, not an Arabic one. Sikhism *requires* male adherents to keep an untrimmed beard and wear a turban; Islam does not.

Most other attempts at a "Middle Eastern" typology fail a lot of the time, too. Middle Easterners in the U.S. are mainly Arabs, right? That depends on where you live. In the state of California, better than half are Iranian or Afghan; in Maryland, practically all are Iranian. Even if you restrict your attention to Americans of Arab origin, stereotypes quickly collapse. You would think it could at least be said with safety that they are mainly Muslims. Not so: More than three-quarters of Arab-Americans are Christians. The principal Middle Eastern presence in my own town is St. Mark's Coptic Church. The Copts, who are Egyptian Christians, are certainly OMEA, and they speak Arabic for non-liturgical purposes, and have Arabic names. They have little reason to identify with Muslim terrorists, however, having been rudely persecuted by extremist Muslims in their homeland for decades. Misconceptions cut the other way, too. Care to guess what proportion of Muslim Americans are of Arab origins? Answer: around one in eight. Most American Muslims are black.

■

My reaction on seeing the photograph of Mohamed Atta was that he looked *exactly* like my own mental conception of an Arab terrorist.

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That we could impose any even halfway reasonable system of "racial profiling" on this chaos seems impossible. Yet we can, where it matters most, and I believe we should; certainly in airport security, which, as a matter of fact, is where OMEA profiling began, during the hijack scares of the early 1970s. When boarding a plane, documents need to be presented, names declared, words exchanged. This gives security officials a much richer supply of data than a mere "eyeball" check. We return here to one of the points in my previous article on this subject, as affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court: that "race"—which is to say, visible physical characteristics typical of, or at least frequent among, some group with a common origin—can be used as part of a suspect profile to identify targets for further investigation, provided there are other criteria in play.

We should profile at airports because, as the James Woods incident shows, profiling is an aid—very far from an infallible one, but still a useful one—to identifying those who want to harm us, in this as in any other area of law enforcement. To pretend that any person passing through airport security is as likely as any other to be a hijacker is absurd, just as it is absurd to pretend that any driver on the New Jersey Turnpike is as likely as any other to be transporting narcotics.

Crises like the present one can generate hysteria, it is true, but they can also have a clarifying effect on our outlook, sweeping away the wishful thinking of easier times, exposing the hollowness of relativism and moral equivalence, and forcing us to the main point. And peacetime has its own hysterias. I believe that when the long peace that ended on September 11 comes into perspective we shall see that the fuss about racial profiling was, ultimately, hysterical, driven by a dogmatic and unreasoned refusal to face up to group differences. So long as the authorities treat everyone with courtesy and apologize to the inconvenienced innocent, racial profiling is a practical and perfectly sensible tool for preventing crime and terrorism. **NR**

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Fight Now, Love Later

The awfulness of an Oprahesque response

MARK STEYN

On September 11, a colleague of mine rang Henry Kissinger to ask if he'd write something for the op-ed page of Sunday's paper. On the Thursday, my friend called him back just to be sure he was still doing the piece. "Ah," the good Doctor growled dryly, "so this story has not been superseded?"

Kissinger makes a good point, though not just about the news media. The urge to (in the dread Clintonian phrase) "move on" is the natural condition of our culture. If anything, the news operations tend to be a little behind the curve. When so many people watching TV that morning said it was "like a movie"—like *Independence Day* or *Armageddon* or *Swordfish*—I began to get nervous. Not because it wasn't like *Independence Day*, but because the defining characteristic of those movies is not the "money shot" of the atomized White House or any of the other special effects but the fact that they're huge, boffo, smash, record-breaking mega-blockbusters for three weeks and then utterly forgotten. Movie's over. What's next?

Is something similar happening here? On September 22, the Miss America pageant went ahead as scheduled. If ever there was an event ripe for a bit of star-spangled symbolism, Old Glory wrapped around the flower of American maidenhood, this was it. The host, Tony Danza, began by justifying the decision. "We don't carry on to make less of what happened, we carry on to make more," he said. One of the producers had explained beforehand that they'd had to make a lot of changes—as a result, it would be "more of a USO show."

I wish. The urge to "move on" was almost palpable. When Danza asked one contestant what she liked about Manhattan, she replied cheerily, "More than any other city I've ever visited, it's just so full of life!" I wouldn't have minded if this had been delivered as an infelicitous cry of defiance, but instead its blank-eyed perky ingenuousness all but advertised the fact that the young lady had entirely forgotten the slaughter of ten days earlier. Instead of awkward, clunky, heartfelt patriotism, the whole event was suffused with an awkward, clunky, desperate embarrassment at even having to acknowledge what had happened.

What would a 2001 USO show look like? There was a report that Bob Hope is eager to stage a special benefit. Bob is 98, just back from the hospital and recuperating from pneumonia, but he may be the only guy in Hollywood who's not uncomfortable with uncomplicated flag-waving. Sixty years ago, the radio shows were full of lame gags about the Yanks putting ants in the Emperor's Japants. On the comic-book covers, Batman and Superman forgot about the Joker and the Penguin and took on Nazi spies. Can anyone imagine popular culture conscripting itself in similar fashion today? The forces we are up against and the governments that shelter them are Neanderthal, racist, misogynist, homophobic, fundamentalist, and an affront to democracy. They sound, in other words, like a typical Republican candidate—and yet for once the cultural Left won't hear a word against them, for fear of giving even hypothetical offense.

Indeed, there's a reluctance to admit there's any "enemy" at all. It was not a good sign when New York City decided to entrust its special prayer service at Yankee Stadium to Oprah, and it would have been too much to expect Oprah to forgo Oprahfying. "May we leave this place," she concluded,

Mr. Steyn is a columnist for Britain's *Daily Telegraph* and Canada's *National Post*.

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"determined to now use every moment that we yet live to turn up the volume in our own lives, to create deeper meaning, to know what really matters. What really matters is who you love and how you love."

Not right now, Oprah. What really matters is who we get to Afghanistan and what they do once they're there. Oprah's line isn't pacifist. Pacifism in the honorable sense is Mahatma Gandhi, a determined nonviolence that bent a mighty empire to its will. What's happening now is not pacifism but passivism—a terrible inertia filled with feel-good platitudes that absolve us from action, or even feeling. It was thus inevitable that an all-network, all-star telethon should have featured John Lennon's anthem for fluffy nihilists:

Imagine there's no heaven
It's easy if you try
No hell below us
Above us only sky
Imagine all the people
Living for today . . .

You may say he's a dreamer, but he's not. A couple of years ago, it emerged that Lennon was a very generous contributor not just to organizations that support and fund the IRA, but to the IRA itself. He could "imagine there's no countries" and "nothing to kill or die for," but until that blessed day he was quite happy to support an organization that blows up people in shopping centers and railway stations. It's heartening to know that, though he grew rich peddling illusory pap to the masses, he didn't fall for it himself.

Robert Hilburn in the *Los Angeles Times* summed it up better than he knew: "The rock 'n' roll descendants of blues and folk artists, who would have been excluded from earlier prime-time showcases as voices of rebellion, have become the ones the country turns to as voices of unity. The defining moment during a national World War II radio benefit: Bing Crosby singing Irving Berlin. There was still a place for Berlin on Friday, as Celine Dion sang 'God Bless America.' But the telethon's central moments involved rock artists, including Bruce Springsteen, U2 and Neil Young, who drew upon the music and/or spirit of Bob Dylan and John Lennon."

These are the words Celine sang:

God bless America,
Land that I love.

Berlin wrote those lines sincerely and without embarrassment: He said it simplest and he said it best. He was a Jew and he endured slights. When he married a society girl, Ellin Mackay, she was dropped from the Social Register. When Ellin's sister took up with a Nazi diplomat in New York and went around sporting a diamond swastika, she suffered no such social disapproval. Nonetheless, through that and a thousand other idiocies, Berlin remembered the alternative—being a child in Temun, Siberia, when the Cossacks rode in and razed his village, sending his parents scuttling west. About his adopted land, he had no doubts. And, if John Lennon and U2 are now the "voices of unity," it's worth asking: Unity for what? "God Bless America" is a song to go to war to. Is "Imagine"?

Being a member of an NGO (non-governmental organization, as they call them at U.N. conferences), Osama bin Laden can easily "imagine there's no countries": He's been doing it for some time. By contrast, the distinguishing characteristic of people who stand around holding candles and singing John Lennon seems to be a colossal failure of imagination. When some bozo guns down his schoolyard, the day generally ends with him dead or in custody. The vast squadrons of grief counselors who descend on the joint faster than the local SWAT team and start drooling about "healing" and "closure" do have a point to this extent: The event is over, there is something to "close." But you can't begin "healing" until the guys have stopped firing. And in this case they haven't. This isn't *Independence Day*. It's not a movie. It's an old-fashioned radio serial, with cliffhanger endings week after week after week. Whoever is responsible for September 11 already has well-advanced plans for the next atrocity—probably nothing to do with planes; maybe a gas line, maybe just a shopping mall in some town you've never heard of. A terrorist is an opportunistic warrior. If he can kill the president, he will. But if he can't, he'll kill you. Imagine that.

■

What's happening now is not pacifism but passivism—a terrible inertia filled with feel-good platitudes that absolve us from action, or even feeling.

■

So we need something a little more robust than the soothing drone of Lennon and Oprah. We need people willing to speak truth to evil. Saying you love everyone in general is like saying you love no one in particular. It's like being told "Gee, that was really special" by a hooker.

Here is my worry: At one end of the national spectrum are the anti-American elite, the Edward Saids and John Lahrs secure in their redoubts. At the other end are the great full-throated "These colors don't run" patriots. But in between is a big wobbly blurry mass trembling on the brink of making this just another wallow in victimization—the "dominant discourse" (as Said would say) of the day. Five years ago, Bob Dole wondered, "Where's the outrage?" Three years ago, Bill Bennett wrote a book called *The Death of Outrage*. In Europe, the ferociously anti-American Left is plenty outraged—it is raw, visceral, passionate, and none the worse for that. If we can't get outraged—not sad, not weepy, not candle-in-the-windy, but outraged—over thousands of people killed for no other reason than that they went to work, then we're really in trouble. If cultural passivity—love the world, be non-judgmental, everybody does it—co-opts even this awesome event, then the sleeping giant isn't sleeping so much as comatose.

This is war. Save the love-in for later. **NR**

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Demons Under Western Eyes

Terror in books and in our cities

ROGER KIMBALL

INCOMPREHENSIBLE horror sparks a frantic search for comprehension. Among the bookish, this search often takes the form of a hunt for literary parallels. Accordingly, in the aftermath of September 11, one found many invocations of Dostoevsky and Zola, Henry James and Joseph Conrad.

Dostoevsky's great novel *Demons* (1871) was inspired partly by the brutal murder of a student by an anarchist-terrorist called Sergei Nechaev. In Zola's novel *Germinal* (1885), an exiled Russian nihilist called Souvarine sets off a bomb that floods a mine, killing many. In *The Princess Casamassima* (1886), James presents Hyacinth Robinson, an impoverished aesthete, who is seduced by radicals working for a German terrorist. Conrad portrayed anarchist terrorism in both *The Secret Agent* (1907), which features a plot to blow up the Greenwich Observatory, and *Under Western Eyes* (1911), whose character Peter Ivanovitch offers a chilling portrait of evil incarnate. (Conrad called him and another character "apes of a sinister jungle.")

What do these books have to tell us about terrorism today? Well, evil is all of a piece, and with characters like "the incorruptible professor," who walks around London with a bomb strapped to his body, Conrad gives us a portrait of a murderous, megalomaniacal fanatic who is at home in any century. *The Secret Agent* ends with the professor walking about town

> averting his eyes from the odious multitude of mankind. He had no future. He disdained it. He was a force. His thoughts caressed the images of ruin and destruction. He walked frail, insignificant, shabby, miserable—and terrible in the simplicity of his idea calling madness and despair to the regeneration of the world.

Nevertheless, the world of the Russian nihilist or of the French or German anarchist was very different from our own world. Conrad speaks of one character, "the perfect flower of the terrorist wilderness," whose "banality" is as notable as his "monstrosity." "Banality" is too pedestrian a quality to apply to unvarnished evil such as that unleashed on New York and Washington. Indeed, Hannah Arendt was memorable but wrong when she spoke of "the banality of evil." Evil is horrifying, not banal, however petty, small, and inconsiderable its perpetrators may be.

My own view is that the venerable literary productions of the 19th and early 20th centuries are not particularly relevant to contemporary terrorism. There are, to be sure, local insights, psychological resonances, striking coincidences of theme or imagery. But in the end, such great works of literature are too refined—artistically too good, if you will—to explain the gutter phenomenon of contemporary terrorism. To understand that, one does not require so sophisticated an instrument as Henry James or Fyodor Dostoevsky. One requires something blunter, less delicate, more malevolent.

The venerable literary productions of the 19th and early 20th centuries are not particularly relevant to contemporary terrorism.

If one wants a literary parallel that sheds light on the oper-

Mr. Kimball is managing editor of *The New Criterion*.

"Agree or disagree with his judgments, this is a provocative and challenging read. Highly recommended."

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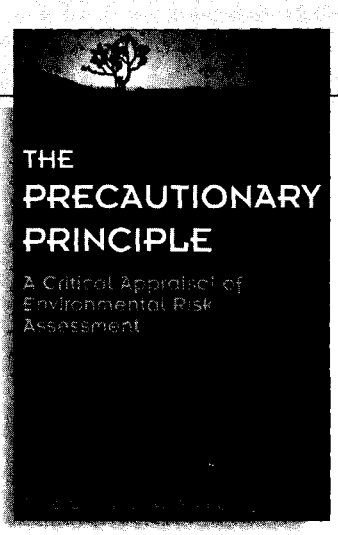

The "precautionary principle"–a "better safe than sorry" rule–is increasingly invoked to justify government regulations to stop potential environmental problems such a global warming, genetically modified foods, and DDT. The author argues that not halting such potential crises might entail health risks, but so might their regulation. He argues that a balanced application of this principle cautions against aggressive regulation.

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ation of Osama bin Laden, one should look not to classic novels but to another sort of literary enterprise altogether. I mean that enormous bestseller, published in two volumes in 1925 and 1926, *Mein Kampf*.

Few people today take the trouble to look into this compendium of evil. But for anyone who has, the murderous evolution of National Socialism is not surprising. Hitler was nothing if not candid about his ambitions, his aversions, his pathologies. His virulent hatred of the Jews is patent on every page, as is his narcissistic egotism, his sense of himself as a destiny, his cold-blooded lucidity. *Mein Kampf* is the testament of a man bent on war and slaughter. But who in the 1920s and '30s took that seriously?

Osama bin Laden has been similarly candid. In a 1999 interview published in *Esquire*, bin Laden was perfectly clear that his first ambition was to remove the American military from Saudi Arabia, a country that has cities sacred to Islam that, he believes, are polluted by the presence of Westerners. "Every day the Americans delay their departure," he said, "they will receive a new corpse."

■

Hitler was nothing if not candid about his ambitions, his aversions, his pathologies. Osama bin Laden has been similarly candid.

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It does not require much hermeneutical ingenuity to understand that sentence. Nor was bin Laden ambiguous about his willingness to attack civilians: "We do not differentiate between those dressed in military uniforms and civilians; they are all targets in this fatwa."

> So we tell the Americans as people and we tell the mothers of soldiers and American mothers in general that if they value their lives and the lives of their children, to find a nationalistic government that will look after their interests and not the interests of the Jews. The continuation of tyranny will bring the fight to America, as Ramzi Yousef [a bomber of the World Trade Center in 1993] and others did.

When the U.S. Marines landed in Somalia at the end of 1992 as part of a U.N. humanitarian effort, bin Laden's troops were there, shooting down our helicopters and dragging the bodies of our men naked through the streets. Reflecting on that event, bin Laden said that his followers were "surprised at the low morale of the American soldiers and realized more than before that the American soldier was a paper tiger and after a few blows ran in defeat."

No action ever taken by Bill Clinton, who assumed office in the immediate aftermath of the Somalian debacle, did anything to dissuade bin Laden of this conviction. What lessons should we learn from this? The same lessons the world ought to have learned in the late 1930s when Hitler occupied the Rhineland, remilitarized, and set about gobbling up his neighbors and attempting to make the Third Reich *Judenfrei*. The first lesson is that weakness is provocative. Power without the exercise of authority breeds contempt, and contempt elicits insurrection. The world learned this the hard way in the late Thirties when efforts to mollify, to ignore, to reason with totalitarian evil had the effect of enflaming it.

The second lesson also involves power. The possession of power carries with it responsibility. This is something the British understood throughout the 19th century and up until at least 1914. "Imperialism" has a bad reputation today, thanks in part to anti-Western agitators like Edward Said. It is time to rehabilitate the word "imperialism," to understand that there are many states and half-states and pseudo-states that cannot yet govern themselves. To abandon those entities to "self-determination" is to abandon them to chaos and anarchy: horrible enough for them and intolerable to the civilized world if exported. In itself, imperialism is neither good nor bad. It is a political and social arrangement that can be exercised in a humane and enlightened fashion or in a brutal fashion.

The West has become afraid of its power and negligent about its responsibilities. As the military historian John Keegan noted some months ago, "The great work of disarming tribes, sects, warlords and criminals—a principal achievement of monarchs of the 17th century and empires in the 19th—threatens to need doing all over again." No nation except the United States has the resources to undertake the task today. As of this writing, it looks as if President Bush has mustered the necessary resolve. The outstanding question is whether the spineless forces of anti-Americanism—the Barbara Lee contingent, the coddled academic pacifists, the left-leaning media culture—will sap that resolve and open the way for an even greater carnival of murder. Dostoevsky saw it all clearly when, in a famous passage of *Demons*, the half-mad anarchist Pyotr Verkhovensky outlines the malignant if unwitting forces that he can call upon:

> Do you know that we are tremendously powerful already? . . . Listen. I've reckoned them all up: a teacher who laughs with children at their God and at their cradle is on our side. The lawyer who defends an educated murderer because he is more cultured than his victims . . . is one of us. . . . The juries who acquit every criminal are ours. The prosecutor who trembles at a trial for fear he should not seem advanced enough is ours, ours. Among officials and literary men we have lots, lots. . . . Do you know how many we shall catch by little, ready-made ideas? When I left Russia, Littré's doctrine that crime is insanity was all the rage; I came back to find that crime is no longer insanity, but simply common sense, almost a duty; anyway, a gallant protest.

There has been a lot of talk about terrorist "sleepers" in the United States and elsewhere: followers of bin Laden who may have integrated themselves into society and are waiting for marching orders. That is a possibility very much worth worrying about. Yet at the moment even more worrisome, because more certain, are the forces of capitulation: those who, not "sleepers" themselves, induce slumber in others by means of sentimentality (masquerading as progressiveness), moral blindness, and culpable lack of courage. **NR**

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America's 'Turn'

How things changed back

ROB LONG

UNTIL 9/11, the trick to making a blockbuster action movie was pretty straightforward: invent a flawed but heroic main character, create a bloodthirsty villain, and come up with a terrorist plot so awful, so apocalyptic, that the only acceptable ending is a happy one. It is axiomatic in Hollywood action movies that nerve gas will not, at the last minute, be sprayed over the city; that a nuclear device will not, at the last minute, explode at the Super Bowl; that the World Trade Center will not, at the last minute, come crashing down on thousands of good and decent people.

Until the other day, Hollywood, like the rest of America, believed in the near miss and the last-minute save. Things change.

In script writing, there is something we call the "turn," a moment when the main character changes in some essential way. In *High Noon*, a movie I've been watching every few days since September 11, Gary Cooper's high-minded, determined marshal realizes, about two-thirds in, that he can't count on the feckless, cowardly townspeople to stand by him as he faces down a killer bent on revenge. In *Groundhog Day*, Bill Murray's character turns when he realizes that he loves Andie MacDowell—really loves her—and that the only way to win her is to become a better man.

Something turned on September 11, and it happened somewhere between the two flights that hit the World Trade Center and the one that hit the ground outside Pittsburgh.

Think, for a minute, the unthinkable (or the previously unthinkable). You are on one of the first two planes. It is hijacked. There are a few stabbings and a few people are dead. You try to remain calm. Because you are an American, and Americans are essentially rational people who prefer to think that the rest of the world is rational, too, you know in your bones that there is some way out of this. The pilot will land the plane. It will be surrounded by police and the FBI. Negotiations will begin, and the story will, after days of wrangling and CNN and tarmac sitting, eventually have a modified happy ending. Because you don't know that the hijackers have no intention of landing the plane, because you can't imagine such evil, you remain calm. You sit tight. You go along. In this movie, the hijackers' real weapon isn't a box cutter or a pair of tweezers, it's that they know that the plane is doomed and you do not. They know what they're about to do and you don't.

The people on the Pittsburgh flight were in a different movie. They knew. And so they struggled with their hijackers and ditched the plane in the middle of a meadow, killing themselves but saving who knows how many, who knows what.

It isn't that the Pittsburgh plane was filled with brave people and the first two were not. It's that the first two planes were filled with Americans who simply *did not know*, and that the later one was filled with Americans who did. Somewhere in the skies above Pittsburgh, the American character turned.

But not much. The fact that the Pittsburgh plane was filled with normal Americans, businessmen with wives and kids—let's face it: yuppies—and not with the political science department of a typically left-wing university is the difference between a White House that's still standing and a smoldering ruin on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Conservatives will pretend they knew all along that the bedrock character of Americans was essentially unchanged over the years, but they will be lying. Anyone paying attention to our culture must admit to at least a nagging sense of things sliding out of control. The whole lurid tapestry of the past 20 years—its fantastic riches and late–Roman Empire vibe, its school shootings and cultural coarsening—has left a fat and dazed population barely able to stir itself to find the TV clicker.

Political consultants have long relied on a measure of satisfaction called the "right track/wrong track" number. When the number of people who believe the country is on the "right track" exceeds the number who don't, the result is the maintenance of the political status quo; when it's reversed, so are the fortunes of those in office. For the last ten years or so, right-trackers have trounced wrong-trackers steadily and reliably.

But who really believed we were on the "right track"? We were rich, of course—richer than any civilization in the history of the world—but we were also lost. One of the great strengths of American civilization is its capacity for change, but that same engine of renewal means that every so often, we forget who we really are. We forget the history of grime and disease and sacrifice that built the country. We forget the poverty and hard work of our forebears. We forget that America is more than a bull market and a minivan and a satellite television. We forget that we're more—or at least that we're supposed to be more—than the collection of things our prosperity drops at our doorstep. One of the reasons, it seems to me, that "reality TV" shows are so popular is that Americans want to see other Americans up close. We want to find out about ourselves. After years of fragmenting prosperity and social upheaval and urban flight and middle-class hunkering down, we want to be reintroduced.

And so when a band of three or four normal guys takes down a plane near Pittsburgh because it's the right thing to do—because, fundamentally, they believe in the very concept of "right" and "wrong"—we're all probably breathing a sigh of relief. Because America is filled with guys like that. Because America is filled with characters waiting for their turn.

It has been said in newspaper editorials and network broadcasts that September 11 was the day that everything changed. Perhaps it's more accurate to say that September 11 was the day that everything changed back. **NR**

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NUTTY PROFESSORS

A catalogue of fakes and phonies on campus

Disarming America

A prize-winning historian and his gun myths

MELISSA SECKORA

"THE power of image and myth repeatedly overwhelms reality in discussions of early American firearms," writes Michael A. Bellesiles, a professor of history at Emory University, in his book, *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture*. "America's gun culture is an invented tradition."

Bellesiles has done some inventing of his own. His book—which won this year's Bancroft Prize, the most prestigious award in the writing of American history—is one of the worst cases of academic irresponsibility in memory. Yet his remarkable performance has not been enough to cause either his employer, Emory, or his publisher, Knopf, to act.

Some of the most significant statements in *Arming America* are "based" on data that simply do not exist. In other words, they are based on nothing. For example, Bellesiles claims to have counted guns in probate records of the estates of people who died in 1849–50 and 1858–59 in San Francisco. The problem is that, according to everyone who should know, all the probate records that Bellesiles allegedly reviewed were destroyed in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire. Rick Sherman of the California Genealogical Society has said, "I am unaware of the existence of any surviving San Francisco probate files for 1849–1859. If this involves an out-of-body experience, I'd like to know how to pull it off."

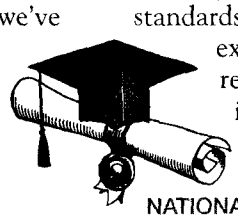
The thesis Bellesiles sets out to prove is that there were very few guns in early America, let alone a gun culture, and that most of the guns that did exist were old and broken. He published an article on the subject in 1996, in the *Journal of American History*—a piece that won "Best Article of the Year" from the Organization of American Historians. Five months before the book came out, Anthony Ramirez of the *New York Times* promoted Bellesiles's thesis, presumably based on the earlier, award-winning article. He said that the probate records were the author's "principal evidence." John Chambers, a military historian from Rutgers, reviewed the book for the *Washington Post*, saying that the probate records were Bellesiles's "freshest and most interesting source." Edmund Morgan, one of the country's leading historians of colonial America, followed suit, exclaiming in the *New York Review of Books*, "The evidence is overwhelming. First of all are the probate records."

Certain historians—especially those with a strong quantitative bent—were skeptical of Bellesiles's data, but many others, including Garry Wills, uncritically embraced *Arming America*, most likely because it appeared to confirm what they have long wanted to believe: that the Second Amendment protects only a collective right to bear arms, that individual gun rights were deemed unimportant at the time of the writing and ratification of the Constitution.

One of those who were skeptical was Joyce Malcolm, a history professor at Bentley College who has written a book on the Anglo-American conception of gun rights. She says, "Bellesiles fails to provide even basic information about the

NATIONAL REVIEW's Top Schools and ISI's Insight

NATIONAL REVIEW heartily recommends all the schools promoted in this issue. In fact, we've already included many of these schools in the latest edition of THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE. This year, we've also turned for guidance to the Intercollegiate Studies Institute: ISI's newest college guide, *Choosing the Right College*, provides insight into how to get the best education available.



The liberal-arts schools featured in the NR guide merited our recommendation because—after careful research—they passed our strict test: Each college has curricular common sense, a dedicated teaching staff, an administration with a sense of purpose, congenial quality of campus life, and supervised student life. As for ISI, it reviewed 100 schools using "tough-minded analysis of the quality of instruction, the level of academic standards, the campus political atmosphere, and the extent to which the liberal arts tradition is respected." The ISI-reviewed colleges featured in our pages received a thumbs-up in these vital areas.

NATIONAL REVIEW encourages all our student subscribers, as well as their parents, to call, write, and visit the schools in this issue. Remember, in this day and age of political correctness, it's never too early to begin the search for the "right" education.

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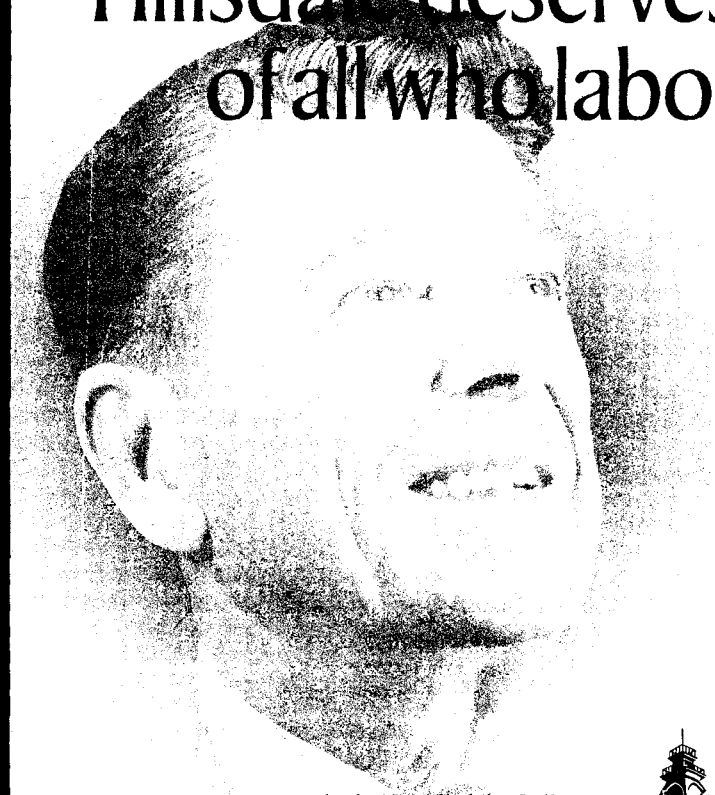

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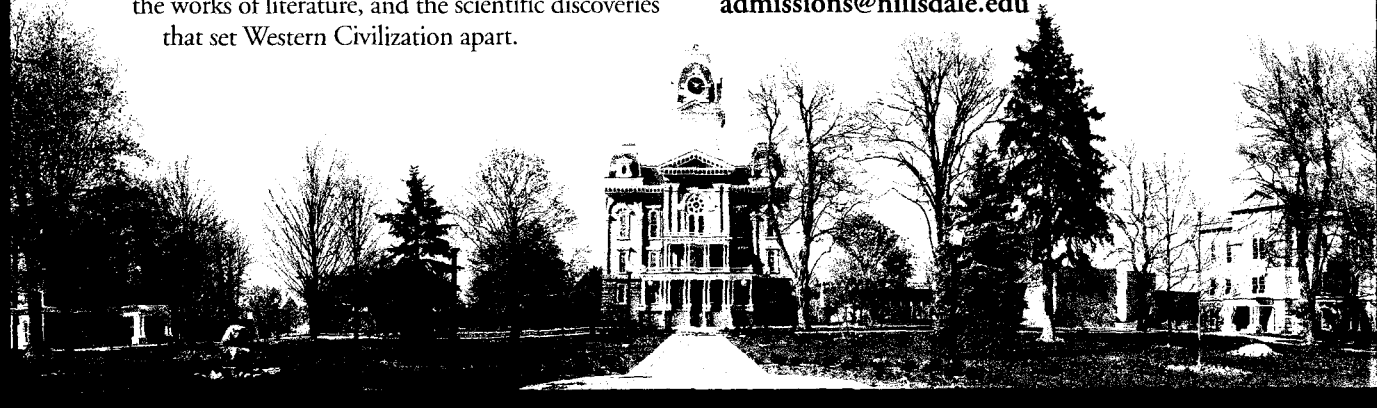

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probate figures that form the basis of his claims for the rarity of guns. And he repeatedly makes general statements that are extreme. But if you check his footnotes, a more disturbing pattern emerges. It is not just an odd mistake or a difference of interpretation, but misrepresentation of what his sources [if they exist] actually say, time after time after time."

In documents on his website (www.emory.edu/HISTORY/BELLESILES), and in correspondence with other scholars, Bellesiles has not only reasserted that he used records in San Francisco, he has embellished his story by giving a location: the Superior Court. In a long interview I conducted with him, he confirmed more than once that the archives he used were at the Superior Court, and said further that he had read hundreds of probate records in both San Francisco and Los Angeles. "There were only a few hundred cases, but that's a lot of cases."

When I asked him point-blank whether he had used probate records from San Francisco County, he answered: "I used county probate records from the Superior Court. I had to go the courthouse—the San Francisco Superior Court." But the deputy clerk of the court, Clark Banayad, says flatly, "Every record at the San Francisco Superior Court predating 1906 was destroyed by fire, or other causes, in the 1906 earthquake." This is common knowledge among California probate and genealogical authorities. The probate records cannot be found at the History Center of the San Francisco Public Library either. Librarian Susan Goldstein says that the center stores some archives of the city and the county, including property deeds, general indexes, and contracts, but that it has "no record of the number of guns owned in the city of San Francisco prior to the 1906 earthquake." Kathy Beals, author of three books on San Francisco's early probate records, says that "to my knowledge, there are no official probate files in existence for years prior to 1880, and only scraps from 1880 until 1905."

Michael A. Bellesiles

I then informed Professor Bellesiles that the probate records could not be found at the San Francisco Superior Court. He changed his story: "Did I say San Francisco Superior Court? I can't remember exactly. I'm working off a dim memory. Now, if I remember correctly, the Mormon Church's Family Research Library has these records. You can try the Sutro Library, too."

Bellesiles appears to have been in error yet again. According to Martha Whittaker, a reference librarian at San Francisco's Sutro Library, the records do not exist. "All official probate records were destroyed by the San Francisco earthquake and fire because the city hall burned down." As for the Family Research Library, Elaine Hasleton, supervisor of public affairs, says that the library has an index of all estates in probate in the city and county of San Francisco from 1850, but that the index does *not* list information about gun ownership. "The index only lists names and the locations of the actual probate records. It does not list possessions."

CURIOUSER AND CURIOUSER

The San Francisco Superior Court, the Sutro Library, and the Mormon Church's Family Research Library are not the only places that do not have an archive that Bellesiles purports to have used. In correspondence last year, Bellesiles assured would-be replicators of his research that for all but "several" of the 40 counties he examined, he did his probate research via microfilm at the Federal Archives in East Point, Ga. He wrote: "The probate records are all on microfilm in the National Archives. I went to the East Point, Georgia, federal center to read these microfilms." When it turned out that the archives in East Point did not have these materials, Bellesiles admitted that he might have been mistaken. His new story was that he went around the country doing most of his probate research in over 30 different county or state archives looking at original records, not microfilm of the original records, as he had first claimed. One wonders how he could have forgotten whether he did his research in a single library near his office or in more than 30 archives around the country.

It could have something to do with the fact that his "database" consisted merely of tick marks on pads of paper. "For the research in the book," he said in our interview, "I was going through sample years, counting numbers of inventories and checking off how many had guns with cross hatches. It was very rough reading of very difficult documents." Bellesiles claims to have counted 11,170 probate inventories; his was, at a minimum, a rather unorthodox and not very modern system for recording great amounts of historical information. What's more, Bellesiles says that all of his tick-mark notes got wet in a flood in his office and had to be discarded, leaving him with no documentation at all to back up his probate study. "All of my notes were destroyed in boxes on the floor of my office, and they got drenched, pulped."

James Lindgren, a Northwestern University law professor, criminologist, and probate expert, trained in quantitative methods, and his coauthor, attorney Justin Heather, have identified many other errors in Bellesiles's work in their paper "Counting Guns in Early America." They found that Bellesiles purported to have examined about 100 wills in Providence, R.I., that simply do not exist, and that he also misused records that do exist: repeatedly counting women as men, counting as old or broken guns that were not so listed, and claiming that there were a "great many" state-owned weapons when there was only one.

Lindgren and Heather have also determined that Bellesiles's main 18th-century probate contentions are mathematically impossible. In his book, Bellesiles reports a national mean for the period 1765–90 of 14.7 percent of probate inventories listing a gun, when every other published probate researcher—including Anna Hawley, Gloria Main, Alice Hanson Jones, and Harold Gill—has found three to five times that many. "It's a simple sixth-grade math problem, computing an overall

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mean from samples," says Lindgren. He and his coauthor elaborate on this at length in their paper. Oddly, Bellesiles has never disputed any of the pair's main charges. The closest he has come so far to admitting any wrongdoing was in a letter he sent to the *Wall Street Journal* (which had reported critically on his case): "I have come to feel that my use of sample sets is not as statistically sound as I would like."

Other scholars who have looked into the matter concur that Bellesiles's allegations are false. Lindgren "utterly devastates Bellesiles's research," says Albert Alschuler, a law professor at the University of Chicago and author of a recent biography of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Randolph Roth of Ohio State University, the leading expert on early-America homicide rates, has looked at Lindgren and Heather's counts of guns in the Providence inventories and found them correct. A third scholar, UCLA's Eric Monkkonen, one of the country's foremost quantitative historians, says, "Lindgren's data show that Bellesiles was not correct."

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Those who have examined *Arming America* have documented hundreds of possibly intentional misconstructions of sources or outright falsehoods.

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Despite all this, the book's editor, Jane Garrett, still defends the book. Knopf declined to answer questions, but in a written statement Garrett said, "Hosts of reputable scholars continue to defend [Bellesiles's] methods and his conclusions. Controversies of this nature are not uncommon in the historical profession. That's what makes history so interesting."

Yet it is not so "interesting" as that. Bellesiles suggested that I speak to ten professors who knew his work, of whom I was able to speak to six. All were either negative about his work—though stopping short of accusing him of outright fraud—or cautious in their praise. And almost none of those who continue to support Bellesiles has bothered to explore the criticism of him. None could identify a single criticism as false. In fact, when I asked Bellesiles himself to point out such a criticism, he could only identify a few criticisms that, on examination, proved true. In general, my investigation of this case did not support the impression of some—such as Knopf's Garrett—that there are distinguished scholars on *both* sides who have carefully gone over the challenged evidence. Those who have taken the trouble have Bellesiles dead-to-rights.

Saul Cornell of Ohio State is one of the historians whom Bellesiles suggested I contact. He has looked into criticism of the author, but could not identify any particular errors in it. Cornell says that some of the criticism has been "hysterical [and] ideologically driven," while other criticism—such as Lindgren and Heather's—has been "thought-provoking [and] powerful": "We are all waiting to see what Michael's response to it will be. Even if he is proven wrong, it is possible to write an important book that moves the debate forward, even if it is flawed. We are all in Bellesiles's debt for opening the debate."

Yet Stanford's Jack Rakove, winner of a 1997 Pulitzer Prize in history, takes a much different view. A historian's claims, he says, ought to be verifiable: "Other scholars should be able to go to the archives to see whether you've quoted them accurately and used them correctly. Bellesiles will have to defend himself. If he can't do it, we will know. If he has really screwed up, he will be held accountable."

Randolph Roth, who has also found several major problems with Bellesiles's homicide counts (which he will discuss in a forthcoming article in the *William and Mary Quarterly* as part of a forum on *Arming America*), agrees: "If I am wrong, I want you to be able to fix my mistakes. The only way that can happen, however, is if I share my data and make clear exactly what sources I looked at. Michael hasn't done that yet. That is the big problem."

Those who have examined *Arming America* have documented hundreds of possibly intentional misconstructions of sources or outright falsehoods. The probate records aside, Bellesiles has egregious problems in the areas of homicide data, gun censuses, reports on militia arms, hunting accounts, travel accounts, the opinions of the anti-Federalists, and laws governing guns. So far it appears that Bellesiles has not been able to validate any of the challenged portions of his book. Indeed, in a new paperback edition of *Arming America* being released this fall, he has quietly capitulated on some of the critics' claims, retracting or altering the challenged statements about probate data from Providence.

A CAREER SAILS ON

Bellesiles told me he plans on spending the next ten years or so reconstructing the information he lost in the flood and posting it on his website. "That is what I am working on now—it is my hobby," he says.

Meanwhile, his university position seems secure, and he continues to win academic plums. Walter Adamson, outgoing chairman of the Emory history department, told me, "Nothing has come forward to me that indicates that Bellesiles deserves to be treated or included in that company of people who have been judged to fabricate their sources." He said this, however, before the revelation of Bellesiles's San Francisco inventions.

And what about Knopf? Says one scholar, "What has happened to ethics [there]? They have allowed a rogue author and an editor of apparently compromised judgment to go forward unchecked. If Knopf doesn't know that it is publishing false data, it is only because it chooses not to know. The very image of Knopf as a serious publishing house has been compromised."

One can only imagine the outcry if a conservative scholar, fabricating evidence to prove a pet conservative point, were caught in the act. If the purpose of historical scholarship is to construct a past that is congenial to one's own biases, then Michael A. Bellesiles can be judged a success. But that is not, of course, the purpose of historical scholarship. Those who understand that can take heart: *Arming America* has been disarmed by its own dishonesty. **NR**

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The Perfect Academic

Meet Homi K. Bhabha, exemplar of his age

ROGER KIMBALL

THERE is a striking passage in Hugo von Hofmannsthal's famous "Letter from Lord Chandos" that always reminds me of contemporary academia. The essay, supposedly written by an Elizabethan nobleman to Francis Bacon, recounts a harrowing descent into linguistic chaos. "My case, in short, is this," Hofmannsthal's character complains: "I have lost completely the ability to think or to speak of anything coherently. . . . Single words floated round me; they congealed into eyes which stared at me and into which I was forced to stare back—whirlpools which gave me vertigo and, reeling incessantly, led into the void."

At first blush, this might seem like simple madness. But it soon becomes clear that Hofmannsthal is describing a spiritual rather than a neuro-physiological breakdown. It is a sickness, all right, but one that is self-induced and, if only a healthy dose of reality were available, easily remedied. Anyone who has bothered to peek into the productions of our literary theorists—our post-structuralist, anti-hegemonic, neo-Marxist, radical-feminist, new-historicist, cultural-studies, post-colonialist, eco-sensitive, multicultural, America-hating professors—knows the territory. I bunged a few dozen examples into my book *Tenured Radicals* a decade ago, and have made it a minor hobby to go on collecting particularly bizarre specimens of this sad intellectual-spiritual malady ever since.

Every discipline has its jargon, of course, but what has happened to so-called scholarly writing is not jargon but Jabberwocky.

In the course of writing that book, when it came time to say something about the sort of hermetic nonsense that passes for scholarly work today, I was faced with an embarrassment of—well, not riches, exactly, but a staggering abundance of really bad writing. It was awe-inspiring, in a horrible way, to leaf through recent academic books and journals and realize that this angry politicized gibberish was being foisted off on innocent youth as serious intellectual work. Every discipline has its jargon, of course, but what has happened to so-called scholarly writing is not jargon but Jabberwocky. Which excrescence should I concentrate on? So many choices, so little time! I vacillated quite a while before settling on *October*, a reader-proof, neo-Marxist quarterly that has been darkening acres of wood pulp since 1976.

Readers whose subscription to *October* has lapsed will be glad to know that a handy anthology of greatest hits from its first ten years was published by the MIT Press in 1987. Among the many cheery items in that edifying volume is an essay called "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," by Homi K. Bhabha. You are unfamiliar with the work of Mr. Bhabha? I was, too. His essay (which was first delivered at an annual meeting of the Modern Language Association) was no worse than many other contributions to that *October* anthology. But it was certainly no better. I particularly admired its achievement of seamless unintelligibility, combining supreme knowingness with a tone of inescapable menace. I think you will too:

> Within that conflictual economy of colonial discourse which Edward Said describes as the tension between the synchronic panoptical vision of domination—the demand for identity, stasis—and the counter-pressure of the diachrony of history—change, difference—mimicry represents an *ironic* compromise. If I may adapt Samuel Weber's formulation of the marginalizing vision of castration, . . .

Pretty nice, eh? And Bhabha kept it up for the whole essay. Here's another bit from his concluding observations:

> In the ambivalent world of the "not quite/not white," on the margins of metropolitan desire, the *founding objects* of the Western world become the erratic, eccentric, accidental *objets trouvés* of the colonial discourse—the part-objects of presence. It is then that the body and the book loose [*sic*] their representational authority. Black skin splits under the racist gaze, displaced into signs of bestiality, genitalia, grotesquerie, which reveal the phobic myth of the undifferentiated whole white body.

I remember thinking at the time, "Gee, this fellow is bound to go far. He has it all: obsequiousness to reigning academic deities (Edward Said), unceasing patter about power and domination, impeccable aura of left-wing animus, regular invocation of outré sexuality, ready deployment of a wide range of fashionable academic clichés. A shoo-in for academic stardom."

And so it came to pass. Outside the ghetto of *October* readers, Homi Bhabha was pretty much an unknown in the 1980s. Now he is an academic eminence. He holds the Chester D. Tripp chair in the humanities at the University of Chicago and is a visiting professor at the University of London. His CV informs us that he "advises key arts institutions" such as the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London, the Whitney Museum of American Art, and the Rockefeller Foundation. He sits on the editorial boards of a

Mr. Kimball is managing editor of *The New Criterion*.

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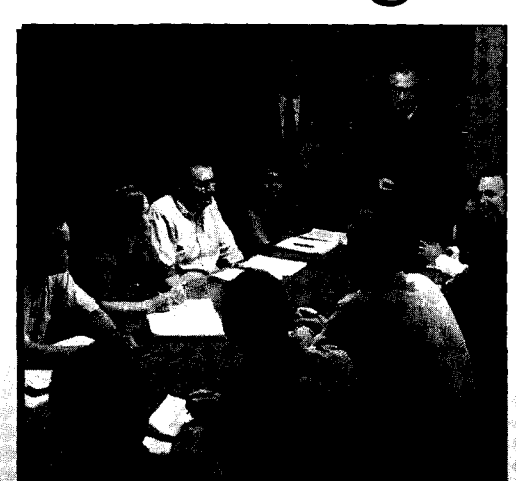

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number of trendy magazines and is a formidable presence wherever advanced academic gibberish circulates.

How does he do it? I mean, the intellectual substance of Bhabha's writings is as close to being nil as human ingenuity can contrive. So why is he showered with honors and acclaimed a great sage by the academic brotherhood? Bhabha's main theme—his only theme, really—is how unfair to indigenes colonialism was and is. But his own career shows that a lot of mileage can be had by playing the exotic. This Bhabha does to the hilt. A native of India, he was educated first at the University of Bombay and then at Oxford. The former endowed him with his Third World credentials, the latter his patina of patrician snobbery. It has proved to be an unbeatable combination: The colonial background makes him a perpetual honorary victim, the English education has grafted a ferocious articulateness onto his animosities.

■

Politicized academics like Bhabha are primarily proselytizers, not teachers. They use their academic freedom not to pursue the truth but to propagandize a party line.

■

There are other reasons for Bhabha's success. One is his exemplary sycophancy. Consider the acknowledgments to *The Location of Culture*, his 1994 collection of essays. In the space of a few pages, Bhabha manages to thank more than 100 carefully chosen people. And he doesn't just thank them; he treats them as a mother cat does her kittens. The "pioneering *oeuvre* of Edward Said" is lightly caressed about the ears, while Terry Eagleton's "exhortations . . . to stay tuned to the materialist mode" are lovingly washed and admired. Toni Morrison (whose work was said to be "formative" for Bhabha's "thinking on narrative and historical temporality") is adulated early and often. Gayatri Spivak, a trendy follower of Jacques Derrida, is ostentatiously thanked, as are Natalie Zemon Davis, Houston Baker, Stephen Greenblatt, Elaine Showalter, Cornel West, David Ross, Judith Butler, Benjamin Buchloh, etc. Bhabha could not have done better if he had transcribed the academic *Almanach de Gotha* into his acknowledgments.

But it would be a mistake to think that Bhabha achieved his current eminence entirely by means of flattery and academic politicking. There are intrinsic reasons for his success. How many people do you know who would be capable of writing the following?

> It is in the emergence of the interstices—the overlap and displacement of domains of difference—that the intersubjective and collective experience of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated. How are subjects formed "in-between," or in excess of, the sum of "parts" of difference (usually isolated as race/class/gender, etc.)? How do strategies of representation or empowerment come to be formulated in the competing claims of communities where, despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of rules, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogic, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable?

That little snippet is part of Bhabha's introduction to *The Location of Culture*. What do you suppose an answer to any of those pseudo-questions would look like? And lest you think that Bhabha was working overtime in his introduction, here's a bit from his admiring essay on the doctor-turned-terrorist Frantz Fanon:

> I may be accused of a form of linguistic or theoretical formalism, of establishing a rule of metonymy or the supplement and laying down the oppressive, even universalist, law of difference or doubling. How does the poststructuralist attention to *écriture* and textuality influence my experience of myself? Not directly, I would answer, but then, have our fables of identity ever been unmediated by another; have they ever been more (or less) than a detour through the word of God, or the writ of Law, or the Name of the Father; the totem, the fetish, the telephone, the superego, the voice of the analyst, the closed ritual of the weekly confession or the ever open ear of the monthly *coiffeuse*?

You see why I brought up the "Letter from Lord Chandos." Should we care about the success of people like Bhabha? Is he not just the latest sample of academic woolly-headedness, no more dangerous than the pipe-sucking leather-elbow-patched variety of yesteryear? It would be reassuring to think so. Unfortunately, politicized academics like Bhabha—he describes himself as someone "committed to progressive political change in the direction of a socialist society"—are primarily proselytizers, not teachers. They use their academic freedom not to pursue the truth but to propagandize a party line. It will be pointed out that people like Bhabha—and they fill the ranks of the professoriate today—are largely unintelligible and therefore unlikely to be effective. It is true that, intellectually, what they dispense is nonsense: breathtakingly naïve and littered with contradictions. But emotionally they are eminently coherent. In this sense, in terms of its effect on impressionable students, the message of Bhabha and his confrères is simple and consistent. It is this: that the cultural, religious, and political achievement of the West is bad and must be displaced, preferably by imports from the Third World.

Indeed, what the Australian philosopher David Stove said about the arts faculty of the University of Sydney in the 1980s is true of many Western universities today. They are a disaster area, he wrote, "and not of the merely passive kind, like a bombed building, or an area that has been flooded. It is the active kind, like a badly leaking nuclear reactor, or an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in cattle." Academics like Homi Bhabha deliberately contribute to that disaster, which is one reason it is impossible to regard his species of ideological warfare as harmless academic frivolity. **NR**

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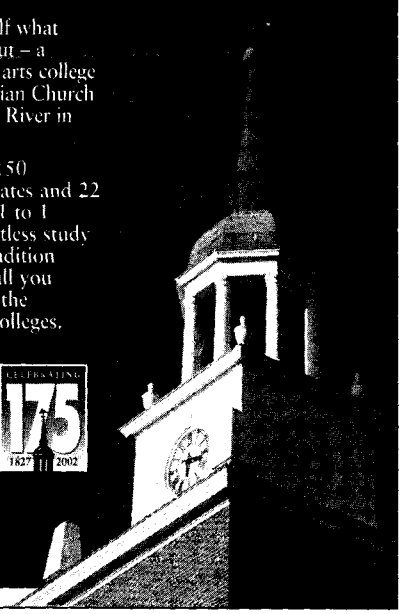

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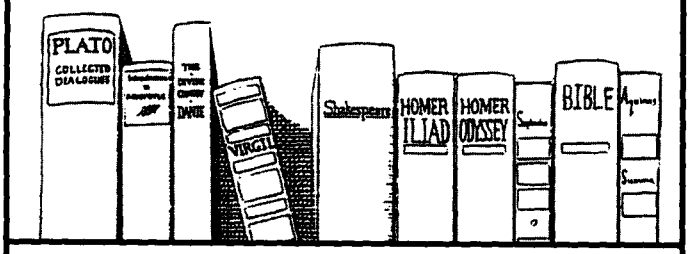

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Hating Missile Defense . . .

. . . and smearing it, too: The media's favorite anti-SDI-er

JOHN J. MILLER

AROUND the time an antiballistic missile failed to intercept its target in a high-profile test last year, one could hardly look at newspapers or magazines without seeing a quote from America's leading missile-defense critic. "The whole thing is a fraud," Theodore A. Postol told *Newsweek*. The *New York Times* rewarded his loyal trashing of missile defense with a loving profile. ("As a scientist, he brings laserlike precision to his work," cooed Elaine Sciolino.) Postol was simply everywhere, and liberals who have hated missile defense ever since Ronald Reagan first proposed it treated him like a prophet.

This year, however, things haven't gone so well for the MIT physicist. First there's the stubborn reality of President Bush and his strong support of missile defense. ("I've resisted saying this, but I'm basically a Democrat," admits Postol. "I voted for Al Gore.") Then there was the inconvenience of a successful missile-defense test on July 14—Postol went missing in action afterwards. What could he say? He isn't the kind of guy who will volunteer that he was ever wrong.

It is possible, of course, to make responsible criticisms of missile defense; but Postol's intellectual vanity renders him incapable of keeping within the bounds of responsibility. For example, he told me in an interview that he thinks Air Force Lt. Gen. Ronald Kadish, who heads the Pentagon's Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, may be a traitor: "I find it very disturbing that military officers at high levels—I mean Kadish and his people—clearly know they cannot provide the capabilities they've talked about. It is misconduct. There's a disloyalty to the country here."

This fanatical opposition to missile defense has colored much of Postol's career, and it has compelled him to put his scientific expertise in the service of a political agenda. Postol first gained national attention following the Gulf War, when he showed that the Patriot missile had not performed as well as many people once thought. These efforts made him a kind of folk hero to an arms-control set worried that public perceptions of the Patriot's success might translate into public support for missile defense. "Postol didn't just try to debunk the Patriot," says Peter Huessy, the head of a Maryland defense firm and a missile-defense advocate, "he tried to smear it."

In reality, the amazing fact about the Patriot wasn't its supposed lack of success, but that it didn't flop completely. The Patriot had not been built to shoot down missiles; its targets were supposed to be planes, and it was hastily converted into an antimissile system during the Gulf crisis. Postol and his allies glossed over this history, and failed to point out that the Patriot almost certainly would have performed better against Iraqi Scuds had congressional Democrats not passed legislation in the early 1980s weakening its capabilities so as not to threaten the ABM Treaty. "Postol is responsible for ending the sentiment that had taken hold after the Gulf War that at least limited missile defenses are worthwhile," says Frank Gaffney of the Center for Security Policy.

In the 1990s, Postol devoted himself almost exclusively to the cause of opposing missile defense. He became deeply embroiled in dozens of battles with other scientists. He displayed a wounded pride whenever somebody criticized his work—and demonstrated an ugly willingness to shade the truth. In 1994, for example, Postol coauthored an article saying that a particular missile-defense program threatened to violate the ABM Treaty. The Pentagon countered with its own study suggesting that Postol's analysis was not correct. Postol went ballistic. The Pentagon's study contained "false and misleading information" that "impugns the reputation of myself and my colleagues," he claimed in a letter to Lt. Gen. Malcolm R. O'Neill. He demanded a retraction and an apology. (He sent a copy of this letter to Alexei Arbatov of the Russian Duma, and later enlisted Arbatov to write a letter in his behalf.) Postol also phoned John R. Harvey, a deputy assistant defense secretary, to complain, and then sent a letter to Harvey characterizing their conversation in a way that made it look as if Harvey supported Postol's contentions. When Harvey saw the letter, he told O'Neill in a memo that Postol had "misinterpreted much of what I said."

Missile-defense opponents have made a habit of saying whatever they must to make missile defense look bad, even when this leads them into a hopeless spiral of contradictions. They claim, for example, that missile defense shouldn't be funded for testing because it can't possibly work, and in the next breath suggest it can't possibly work because it hasn't been properly tested. At other times they belittle missile defense by saying it wouldn't take much for a foe to overwhelm it in real combat; but they also claim missile defense will destabilize international relations because Russia and China fear its potential to defeat them.

Yet Postol is one of the best when it comes to shifting the subject. His most prominent argument against missile defense involves countermeasures—decoys that try to trick interceptors into hitting the wrong target. Countermeasures are indeed a serious problem. One of the chief engineering challenges of a missile-defense system is to create interceptors that can discriminate between real warheads and fake ones while traveling at high speeds in outer space. Postol insists that effective countermeasures are so cheap and easy to produce that they represent a debilitating vulnerability for missile defense. But this is a matter of some dispute. Many missile-defense supporters believe countermeasures are in fact difficult to build—and can be defeated.

Henry Cooper, who ran SDI programs at the Pentagon during the first Bush administration, is actually sympathetic to Postol's countermeasures critique—but not to Postol himself. "He's not trying to be helpful," says Cooper. "He's trying to

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tear down missile defense." Cooper is one of many defense experts who believe the Pentagon should focus more of its resources on boost-phase defenses—in other words, hitting targets before they can deploy any countermeasures, which is to say right after they've launched and before they've left the atmosphere. Postol, of course, doesn't think much of this idea either. He recently noted that such intercepts could result in a destroyed booster rocket but an intact warhead—which might then fall on an allied country. In other words, the U.S. shouldn't develop a system to defend New York City against an Iranian missile, because there's a small chance a crippled warhead might land in Paris.

Lately, Postol hasn't been talking about the science of missile defense at all; instead, he's trying to reinvent himself as the victim of Pentagon security agents who send threatening letters to his employer and stifle his free speech. Last year, Postol sent a long letter to White House chief of staff John Podesta warning that the Pentagon's missile-defense plans were hopelessly flawed. He attached material received from Nira Schwartz, a former TRW employee engaged in a whistleblower lawsuit saying that TRW had misled the government about the capabilities of a missile component it had developed. (Within a few months, Schwartz's claims about the TRW component were judged invalid by investigators at the Defense and Justice Departments as well as the FBI. Also, Postol failed to mention to Podesta that the Pentagon had already replaced this component with a different one, manufactured by Raytheon.)

Podesta sent Postol's letter to the Pentagon, and reviewers there noticed that one of Postol's supporting documents was still classified. Releasing it publicly—Postol admits to giving the letter to the *New York Times* and others—represented a security violation. Postol says he didn't know the document was secret when he did this, even though its status ought to have been obvious to anybody who possesses even a vague understanding of what classified documents look like. The Pentagon reacted by following well-established procedures: It ruled Postol's letter classified. "We asked him to stop distributing it," says Lt. Col. Rick Lehner, a Pentagon spokesman. But by then it was too late: The secret document was no longer a secret. Postol says he saw no reason to quit distributing the document, because anybody with access to the Internet could find it within minutes. "Why shouldn't I distribute it when anybody can get it?" he says. That sort of makes sense, but it's important to realize that Postol himself is the very reason anybody can get it. "I'm guilty of that," he admits.

Yet it hasn't stopped him from crying foul. He says the Pentagon is retaliating against him by putting pressure on MIT. The Defense Security Service's letters to MIT, however, merely mention a desire "to discuss the steps required . . . to ensure that classified information has been retrieved and properly safeguarded."

Some might see this as a prudent, if bureaucratic response; Postol calls it a despicable violation of his civil liberties. For the desperate foes of missile defense, it is just one more piece of evidence showing that they're up against a powerful conspiracy determined to hoodwink the republic. The rest of us might be wise to wonder who's hoodwinking whom. **NR**

In an Anti-Family Way

The work of Stephanie Coontz

WILLIAM TUCKER

STEPHANIE COONTZ is on a mission: She wants to make the world safe for divorce. "We are kidding ourselves," she says, "if we think the solution to the economic difficulties of America's children lies in getting their parents back together."

Coontz is now considered one of America's leading experts on the family. A professor of history at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Wash., she has written two books—*The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (1992) and *The Way We Really Are: Coming to Terms with America's Changing Families* (1997)—that still earn her regular appearances on TV and in the newspapers. Last May, a *Newsweek* cover story on single mothers quoted the following Coontz wisdom: "Giving incentives or creating pressures for unstable couples to wed can be a huge mistake."

Coontz ransacks history, anthropology, and whatever else is at hand, always in the service of the same anti-marriage conclusion. Here's one example: "In kinship-based foraging societies of the past . . . women and children were entitled to resources simply by being members of the group. They were not forced to rely for their living on maintaining a particular relationship with a man."

For Coontz, relations between men, women, and children are purely economic. The word "love" almost always appears in quotation marks: "The fact that children have less to offer the middle-class family in modern America and that there are fewer economic reinforcements of parent-child interactions means there are few supports to shore up the bonds of 'love.'"

Now, there is obviously a kernel of truth to this. Kant wrote that marriage is basically an economic relationship. That's why parents and extended families always wanted to *arrange* marriages. But these days, couples don't usually enter a marriage thinking solely of economics, so it's odd to see the money issue isolated and played up so nakedly in Coontz's writings.

Coontz, like Karl Marx, imagines a pre-capitalistic Eden where the nuclear family wasn't necessary. Before industrialization, she argues, the basic unit was the extended family, leavened with broad kinship ties. Then came the capitalists, who pushed men into the labor force, leaving women behind to tend the children. An emotional division of labor ensued, with men as stern "breadwinners" and women as the protective custodians of "love." This arrangement reached its apotheosis in the 1950s, the fondly remembered decade that arouses Coontz's fiercest antagonisms. First, she says, the 1950s didn't really happen. Second, if they did, it was all because of the government.

Mr. Tucker is writing a book on the family.

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The actual story of the 1950s, according to Coontz, is that blacks lived in tarpaper shacks while men everywhere were beating their wives. "The stability of family and community life during the 1950s rested on pervasive discrimination against women, gays, political dissidents, non-Christians, and racial or ethnic minorities, as well as on a systematic cover-up of the underside of many families. . . . Victims of child abuse, incest, alcoholism, spousal rape, and wife battering had no recourse, no place to go, until well into the 1960s."

And even if Ozzie and Harriet were real people, they were just living off the government anyway: "The nuclear family has never existed as an autonomous, private unit except where it was the synthetic creation of outside forces. The strong nuclear family is in large measure a creation of the strong state." Didn't nuclear families exist sometime before the 1950s—out on the prairie, for example? No, says Coontz: "In reality, prairie farmers and other pioneer families owed their existence to massive federal land grants, government-funded military mobilizations that dispossessed hundreds of Native American societies and confiscated half of Mexico, and state-sponsored economic investments in the new lands. . . . It would be hard to find a Western family today or at any time in the past . . . not dependent on federal funds."

So why did this era come to an end? It seems that mean people took over around 1973 and stopped subsidizing families and redistributing wealth. Corporations downsized and unions lost their power. While a blue-collar worker could make the down payment on a house with one day's pay in 1952, he needed 18 weeks' salary in 1991. Hardly anyone under 30 can earn enough to support a family and most people over 40 have a tough time as well. Women are forced to work.

What's the solution? First, the government should take over again, creating jobs and raising wages. Beyond that, we should return to that pre-capitalist Eden where everybody took care of everybody else: "We must abandon any illusion that we can or should revive some largely mythical traditional family."

Coontz is a good enough scholar that some of her history makes sense, if you fill in the missing pieces. She is indeed correct that the 1950s Golden Era of the Nuclear Family was somewhat synthetic. The main prop was not federal highway construction or the GI Bill but the "family wage," a social contract worked out by reformers of the early 20th century. What Coontz completely misses—remarkably, considering her specialty—is that when the capitalists first built their factories they hired not men, but *women and children*. This was the horror described by Friedrich Engels when he interviewed a Yorkshire weaver darning his wife's socks in *The Conditions of the Working Class in England* (1839):

> "No," the wretched man said in a thick Yorkshire accent, "There is plenty of Wark for Women and [children] in this quarter but very little for men." When he had married, Jack said, he held a fine job and the couple "gat on very well—I could work for us both." But now "t'world is turned upside down. Mary has to turn out to wark and I have to [be] at home to mind [the children] . . . "

What appalled the reformers was that capitalism made no distinctions among men, women, and children. Men's skills, often accumulated over generations, suddenly counted for nothing. Any woman or child could operate a factory loom. By putting a man out of work and hiring his wife and children instead, factory owners could save money.

This is why reformers and the budding labor unions worked hard to get women and children *out* of the work force. The first steps were late-19th-century labor laws limiting children's and women's working hours. (Coontz remembers these only as a restriction on women's freedom.) During the early 1900s these laws were expanded into an informal social code that said there should be only one breadwinner per family. Single women and widows could work, but married women were asked to stay home with their children. As a result, what is now known as the traditional nuclear family extended far down into the population.

Shored up mostly by the unions, the family-wage system redistributed income downward. A man with a high-school education could earn a breadwinner's salary. As Coontz points out, lower-income women were quietly tolerated in the work force, but upper-income, educated married women were asked to stay home. It was this informal system that Betty Friedan encountered in 1956 when she was asked to leave her newspaper job after having her first child. The rest is history.

Many of the upper-income educated women who demanded to be admitted to the work force were pursuing their own illusion—what we might call "the Betty Friedan mystique." By opening up employment, Friedan and some of her compatriots were hoping to create a system where a woman could divorce her husband and still support herself. The ironic result of their actions was to create an economy in which both parents must work. By flooding the labor market, women drove down everyone's wages. As Coontz notes, men's earnings have deteriorated steadily since 1973, while women's wages have risen (though not enough to equal men's). Only by adding the two together do you now get a "family wage."

This is not to say we should go back. Women's contribution to the economy has made us far more productive, so the pie keeps getting bigger. Pushing women out of the work force would be like the French policy of "creating jobs" by limiting everyone to 30 work hours a week. The result would be only stagnation and lagging productivity. But the grand irony is that all this has made marriage more necessary than ever—although Coontz would tear society apart limb-by-limb before admitting it. "The privatism that relies on nuclear, biological bonds to ensure the well being of children . . . is an *obstacle* to solving the problem of childhood poverty," she writes. "Our society urgently needs to create some larger, more inclusive package deal, where obligations to children . . . are not determined solely by biological relatedness, co-residence, parents' marital status, or notions of exclusive possession to 'rights' in a child."

As anyone who has found the love of his or her life knows, once you've done that, everything else becomes relatively easy. And when you can't settle down or make peace with that one person, everything becomes endlessly, endlessly complicated. **NR**

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* Changing students' social attitudes, not enlightening their minds, reigns in the classroom. Berkeley has offered a slew of courses on pornography, including a class this year in which students sit around watching X-rated films. A course last semester featured such assignments as visiting sex shops, watching pornographic movies, attending a lecture by an X-rated movie actress, and walking around the city of Berkeley naked.

* Indoctrination and mandated student activism have replaced education. Typical of activist classes are UCLA's Queering American History, Vassar's Black Marxism, and UMass-Amherst's The Social Construction of Whiteness and Women, in which "Students work in groups to design and implement activist projects."

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School's Out

One man's idea of education

RICHARD NADLER

'WHEN I'm doing a workshop, I like to ask teachers, 'Which is larger, 5/19 or 7/22?' Almost everyone gets this wrong, especially math teachers. The correct answer is, *Who cares?*"

These are the words of Alfie Kohn, de facto leader of the anti-school-testing movement. He helps coordinate political action against standardized tests in 38 states through his website, on which one may read inspiring stories—about Japanese teachers unions scrapping tests, Massachusetts students refusing to take them, a brave Colorado teacher declining to administer them, and so on. The website, www.alfiekohn.org, provides comprehensive information on how activists can lobby elected officials, local media, and business leaders to block graded testing.

Kohn, who taught at Phillips Andover, cheerfully admits that his own theories of education are not experience-based. "I would like to be able to say that my current ideas about education spring directly from my own classroom experience," he has written, "but they really don't." It was, rather, his "search for practical alternatives to competitive structures" that led him to the idea of "cooperative learning."

Kohn's post-classroom career took off in 1991, when *Phi Delta Kappan*, the prestige journal of public-school teachers, published one of his talks. The magazine's parent organization subsequently invited Kohn to develop workshops for its 170,000 members; he has been conducting these workshops nationwide for the past decade. His theories deriding conventional tools of accountability—tests, rewards, punishments—are regularly published in organs of the public-education establishment; they soothe pedagogues who feel beleaguered by the clamor for educational results.

The goal of classroom practice, according to Kohn, should be to produce children who are empathetic and interested in learning. To this end, he endorses a standard range of progressive policies: whole-language instruction rather than phonics; cooperative learning rather than individual mastery; and intergenerational problem solving rather than adult-imposed discipline. He trashes objective knowledge and its measurement, and meritocratic hierarchies in general. He loathes competition among students, teachers, and schools, and particularly disdains mechanisms that would enable parents to choose schools; he believes parents' concern for the welfare of their own children can end up undermining the welfare of all children.

This is standard left-wing pedagogy. What distinguishes Kohn is his single-minded endeavor to place the elements of that pedagogy beyond criticism. This he achieves by denouncing the very idea of objective assessment: The real problem with testing resides not in the particular criteria a test uses, but in the desire of the tester to sort kids into a discriminatory hierarchy. The real problem of discipline, similarly, is not with any particular mix of rewards or punishments, but in the sickness of the authority figure who believes that children somehow need to be fixed. And the real problem of curricula has to do not with their details, but with the unhealthy lust of the pedagogue to impose extrinsic thought on children.

If one accepts these premises, Kohn's entire analysis is irrefutable. Any educational failure—an absence, say, of math skills or spelling knowledge—shows only that the process of schooling is incomplete, and that the child has not yet been sufficiently engaged by the cooperative-learning enterprise.

Kohn's problem, however, is that very few people with a stake in the system—parents, teachers, taxpayers—agree with these premises; and their growing desire for content standards, measured through tests, has put educational progressives on their heels. "There are independent schools that have a tradition of progressive pedagogy," Kohn told the periodical *Independent School*, "but have lately been back-pedaling in a way that many of us find terribly discouraging."

He blames these reversals on some easily identifiable enemies. First, there are the corporate chieftains, whose insistence on curriculum content, mastered skills, and workplace discipline casts a debilitating pall over U.S. education. Then, there are the religious fanatics. "It is common knowledge," wrote Kohn, "that the Christian Right has opposed all manner of progressive reforms." Catholics have played a particularly baneful role. "Let us be clear," Kohn wrote: "It is of no relevance that almost all of the leading proponents of character education are devout Catholics. But it is entirely relevant that, in the shadows of their writings, there lurks the assumption that only religion can serve as the foundation for good character . . . What they do on Sundays is their own business, but if they are trying to turn our public schools into Sunday schools, that becomes everybody's business."

Parents are also a problem, according to Kohn's essay "Only for My Kid: How Privileged Parents Undermine School Reform." In Amherst, Mass., parents fought to preserve the tracking of students according to ability; in Buffalo, they rallied to preserve letter grades; in California, they overturned "conceptual" math in favor of skills-and-drills. And it's not just privileged parents who impede Kohn's enterprise: Blue-collar parents in New York City formed PURGE—"Parents United to Restore Graded Evaluations."

Worse, the antipathy to progressivism extends to the very heart of the classroom. In his essay "Choices for Children," Kohn mourns *teachers'* general dislike for cooperative learning: They seem to take "a certain reassurance and satisfaction . . . from making unilateral decisions." And the kids themselves rebel when the cooperative classroom replaces its autocratic predecessor: "Most discouragingly, teachers sometimes find that their willingness to let students make decisions is met with an apparent reluctance on the part of the students." Children's unwillingness to replace "artificial" authority with "natural" cooperation puzzles Kohn, but not enough to cause him to reevaluate his premise. "It can be tempting," he writes, "to con-

Mr. Nadler is editor of *K. C. Jones*, a midwestern journal of politics and opinion.

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clude that students are either unable to handle the responsibility of making decisions or unworthy of having it. But our challenge is to persevere."

Kohn reserves his deepest scorn not for the troglodytes—Christians, businessmen, conservatives—but for his half-hearted allies, especially wealthy liberals. These "Volvo vigilantes," consumed with unhealthy expectations for their children's success, are omnipresent in protests to restore skills-and-drills, graded performance, and high-stakes tests. "They may be pro-choice and avid recyclers," he complains, "with nothing good to say about the likes of Pat Robertson and Rush Limbaugh; yet on educational issues they are, perhaps unwittingly, making common cause with, and furthering the agenda of, the Far Right."

Kohn sees the half-hearted everywhere: progressive theoreticians who endorse "performance-based assessment" instead of no assessment; teachers whose military models of cooperation pit group against group; even teachers-union leaders like the late Albert Shanker, whose "opinions are usually indistinguishable from those of corporate executives."

Most citizens disagree strongly with Kohn's dictum that graded schoolwork is "irreducibly subjective." Yet his political influence with the education establishment—the notorious "blob"—waxes, even as his pedagogic credibility wanes. In Kohn's classroom, the performance of teachers and students must never be judged. Only one group—unionized teachers—even pretends to believe that Kohnian education is a good idea. Pretty much everybody else—children, former children, and anybody who cares about the education of children—realizes that for the life of the mind, Kohn's classroom is a dead end. **NR**

Stalin's Professor

The awful, influential career of E. J. Hobsbawm

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

The present-day tyrant always sends out two kinds of emissaries: armed men and forgers of ideas; robust individuals and thin men with glasses and sunken chests; rowdies who beat the nation and other rowdies who give thanks for the beating in the name of the nation. The policeman is followed—and sometimes also preceded—by the liar.

FERDINAND PEROUTKA wrote these words, and they are to be found in Arch Puddington's informative book *Broadcasting Freedom*, about Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. An outstanding Czech democrat, Peroutka was in a position to speak for the victims of totalitarianism. First the Nazis had imprisoned him, then the Communists had chased him out of his country. Twentieth-century political rowdies were bent on terror and murder, but they depended on intellectuals to devise justifications for them. And one such is the historian E. J. Hobsbawm, almost a caricature of the thin, bespectacled forger of ideas whose role Peroutka evoked so powerfully from personal experience.

A Communist since his long-ago student days in the early Thirties, Hobsbawm has defended tyranny and attacked the nation continuously. Nothing that has happened in the real world, and especially not the moral and physical bankruptcy of Communism, causes him to rethink, let alone to apologize. He insists that he was always willing to do whatever the Party might ask of him, and that this still constitutes "the moral high ground." In 1994, on a television show, he told his interviewer Michael Ignatieff that Soviet mass-murdering made no difference to his Communist commitment, at the time or now. Ignatieff pressed him: "What that comes down to is saying that had the radiant tomorrow actually been created, the loss of fifteen, twenty million people might have been justified?" To which Hobsbawm shot back, "Yes."

Who knows where such an unhappy and inhuman deformation of character begins. Born in 1917, the child of uprooted Jewish parents from central Europe, Hobsbawm reached England soon after Hitler seized power in Germany. Perhaps a sense of exclusion and persecution led him in turn to wish to exclude and persecute others. Perhaps he was in need of some stronger or more protective identity. I have myself heard him propose that a nuclear bomb be dropped on Israel because—as another matter of arithmetic—it is better to kill a few million Jews now rather than 200 million people in the nuclear exchange that is bound eventually to occur in the Middle East.

Arriving at Cambridge as an undergraduate, he instantly found his milieu among a little group of Communists drawn from the privileged classes. They included the future traitors

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Guy Burgess, Anthony Blunt, and Leo Long, as well as James Klugmann, a member of the Party's Central Committee, who as a wartime intelligence agent falsified the evidence coming from the field in Yugoslavia, and so helped to betray Serb patriots in favor of Tito's Communists. A year younger than Hobsbawm and destined to become a keystone of the Establishment, Noel Annan moved in this circle, and typically he was to write in his memoir *Our Age* that Hobsbawm's Marxism was always "sophisticated, illustrated by reading in many languages and brilliant in its range of references and sources."

One day somebody will write the definitive study of fellow-traveling, that strange phenomenon which throughout the West created a climate of opinion favorable to Communism and Communists. Hyperbole about Hobsbawm will feature in such a study. For most of his career, he has taught in London at Birkbeck College. In the style of Annan, fellow left-wing historians such as A. J. P. Taylor and Sir Keith Thomas, president of an Oxford college, naturally helped to manufacture his reputation, and lesser professors and hacks today treat him as "the greatest living historian." Even conservatives—for instance Hugh Trevor-Roper, who certainly knows better—seem obliged to be deferential.

In reality, Hobsbawm has mastered only some of the main European languages, a feat shared by lots of restaurant waiters, never mind academics. He is proud to proclaim that he does no original research, and his sources are often no more impressive than statistical yearbooks. As for the sophistication of his Marxism, he and Raymond Williams, another Cambridge Communist, defended the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939. He defended the Soviet attack on Finland. He and Arnold Kettle, yet another Cambridge Communist, rejoiced at the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956. His is the authentic voice of Stalinism.

Two of his books depict various outlaws and bandits, mostly rather obscure criminals whom he romanticizes as half-formed revolutionaries. But his main work consists of several volumes of 19th-century history, which seek to prove the usual Marxist dogmas that capitalism leads to imperialism and war; that the nation-state, with its nationalism and tradition, is a fraudulent invention; and that the class struggle moves history forward to its final Communist revolution.

Turning to the 20th century, in *The Age of Extremes* (1994) Hobsbawm was in a quandary. Vanishing without a trace, the Soviet Union had let him down, but he could not let *it* down without exposing that he had been its willing dupe. Forgery of ideas remained his sole recourse. The masses, he claims, supported Lenin and the Bolshevik revolution. This despiser of nationalism nevertheless praises Stalin as "a true national leader." Stalin, he says in some consummate euphemisms, "imposed order . . . [T]he police state can be the rule of law." In Hobsbawm's view, Communism alone defeated Nazism, and further so frightened capitalists that they bought off the proletariat with the welfare state. He fails to mention, or else glosses over, the brute reality of Soviet terror, from enforced collectivization to mass deportations, show trials, executions, and Gulag. Murderers like Khrushchev and Ho Chi Minh, we learn, were respectively "admirable" and "noble," while Castro's revolution "was experienced as a collective honeymoon." The Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc formed "in their own way a working economic system"—an unusual description of self-inflicted destitution. Had the Stalinist policeman Andropov been younger, Hobsbawm muses regretfully, the Soviet Union need never have collapsed.

The United States, unnecessary to say, started the Cold War. The Soviet satellites had merely "moved into the socialist camp." Reagan was surrounded by "an unusually dense screen of ideologists, fanatics, careerists, desperadoes and professional warriors." And of course Hobsbawm sees the United States polluting the world with its free market and its democracy. Crisis must follow, then revolution. As a good Marxist, Hobsbawm believes in prediction, never mind that none of his predictions have come true. Wait, though! At a recent seminar, Hobsbawm had a revelation, in light of world economic uncertainties: "In 1998 Karl Marx came back."

Imagine that someone were to defend Nazism on the grounds that millions of Germans approved of Hitler, that the Nazi revolution spread a modern form of social organization and economy across a continent in need of it, and so on. That person would be hounded, and rightly so. Paul Johnson has pointed out that Hobsbawm's denial of Soviet reality is the equivalent of David Irving's Holocaust denial. Jean-François Revel dismissed *The Age of Extremes* as "pure propagandist hocus-pocus" on the part of "an old and incurable British Stalinist." In his book *Reflections on a Ravaged Century*, Robert Conquest refutes in detail Hobsbawm's fictions about the Russian revolution and the popularity of Lenin.

But as Conquest goes on to say, "If Hobsbawm chooses to write rubbish, then good luck to him." This raises the question: Why does anyone continue to take such rubbish at face value? Far from being hounded, Hobsbawm at the age of 84 is undoubtedly an ornament of the Establishment, a member of the British Academy and honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a favorite of the international lecture circuit, winner of substantial prizes in more than one country, his books taught widely in universities. *Who's Who* lists 14 honorary doctorates, from colleges all over the world, including Oxford, Chicago, and Bard. He and other Communists or fellow-travelers founded a journal, *Past and Present*, to propagate their views. A group portrait of these men now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery in London, as though they had spoken for the nation rather than against it. In a small touch that has much to say about present-day Britain, Prime Minister Blair awarded Hobsbawm the Companion of Honour, hitherto given to people of genuine distinction.

Fellow-traveling has evidently worked through to some consummation here. When once I put it to his fan Noel Annan that Hobsbawm was a bad man and a bad historian, he replied that anti-Communism was worse than Communism. We are supposed to admire those whose declared intention is to destroy us as they destroyed everyone else within their reach. We are invited to define murder and oppression as progress. What is this? Self-hate, fear, appeasement, a failure of will or of intellect, or all at once?

Hobsbawm, it is true, can no longer do much harm. Events have emptied his Communism of meaning, to leave a residue of odious kitsch on a par with those novels about heroic Red tractor drivers. We may be grateful, though, that in the safety of liberal democracy we were spared from discovering the point at which this liar would turn into a policeman. **NR**

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

FROM THE BIN LADEN MAILBAG . . .

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But a relationship is a two-way street. A look at your recent treatment and billing records indicates that your account is seriously in arrears. To date, we have received no payment for any treatments from summer 1999 to fall 2000—that includes the wax impaction removal (left ear) of 11/99 and the laser hemorrhoid surgery of 6/00.

In light of recent events, it's difficult to imagine that you won't be utilizing our services in the coming months. And yet, as it currently stands, it will be impossible for us to provide further treatment with your account 120 days overdue.

Please call the one-eyed disgraced whore in accounting to settle this matter. We look forward to serving you soon.

Sincerely,
Khadija Mujadin
Nurse Whore

P.S.: As you know, it's cold and flu season again here in Afghanistan! Please send your boy children in soon to have the demons cleansed by the purifying flame. Call the half-burned shame-to-her-family whore at reception and make an appointment today.

Dear Sir:

You think you're going to get a break, just because you're not from this country? Well, I've got news for you: You have been tried and convicted in the media, sir, and in this man's America, that's what counts.

They're coming for you, sir. Coming with tanks, and planes, and guns—with all the power and fire at their command.

What you need now, sir, is a lawyer. And not just any lawyer, but a great lawyer. A really really really great lawyer.

So call me. What do you have to lose?

Sincerely,
Johnnie L. Cochran, Esq.

Dear Bin Laden Usama:

Reference is hereby made to your Kabul Home & Life policy (Policy number: BL1227883).

As you may recall, when you applied for the above-referenced policy, you listed your mailing address as "123 Main Street, Anytown, Afghanistan" and your occupation as "non-smoking cleric."

In updating our records, we currently find no residence listed at the address you specified. Further, we have found it difficult to verify your current employment status.

As you know, any Life & Casualty benefits disbursed upon your death and/or dismemberment are contingent upon verification of the terms of your Kabul Home & Life policy. A "cleric," as currently defined by your policy, refers to a primarily religious occupation involving pastoral care, ministering, and light janitorial work. Thus, premiums for such a policy would necessarily be lower than premiums for, say, the leader of an international terrorist organization with a price on his head. The latter occupation would result in a substantially higher premium, if in fact a policy were written for that person at all.

Thus, we have no choice but to suspend your policy effective immediately, until we can verify your residence, employment, and non-smoking status.

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Sincerely,
Mehmet Al-Quarsi
Customer Care Representative

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Dear Mr. Bin Laden:

Of course, like all Americans, I deplore your actions of September 11, 2001. And like all Americans, I look forward to the day that justice is done to you and to your lawless, evil organization. You will find, sir, that once America is stirred, she is hard to distract from her mission.

And yet, in all fairness, I must admit that I am not perfect. In my thirty-plus years of marriage, I haven't always been the kind of husband I wanted to be. But I feel entitled to my privacy, and my family is entitled to theirs, and at the request of the Levy family, I decline to answer further questions.

Sincerely,
Gary Condit

P.S.: While I deplore your actions, I must applaud your timing.

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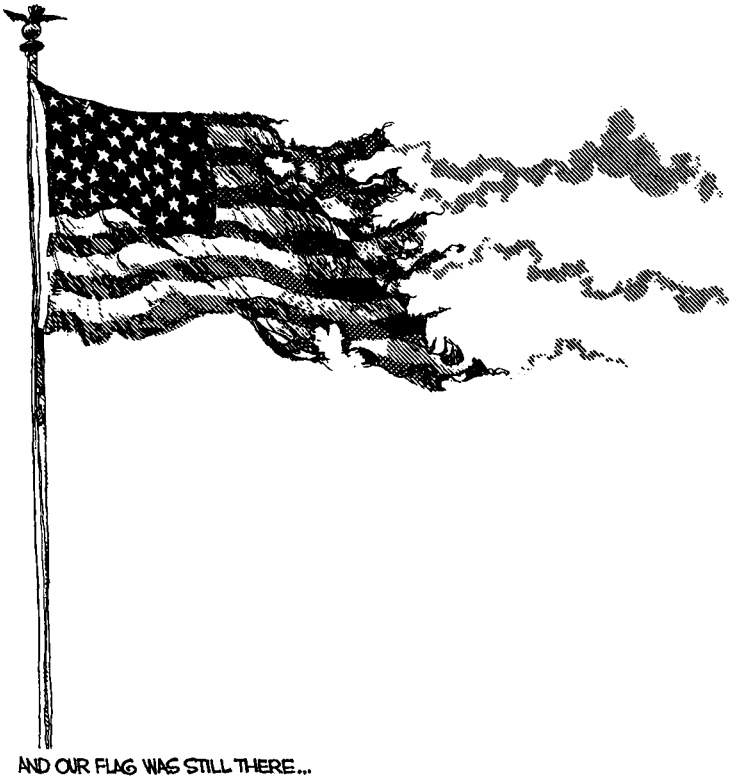

AND OUR FLAG WAS STILL THERE...

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"He was trying to sell his little sister on eBay!"

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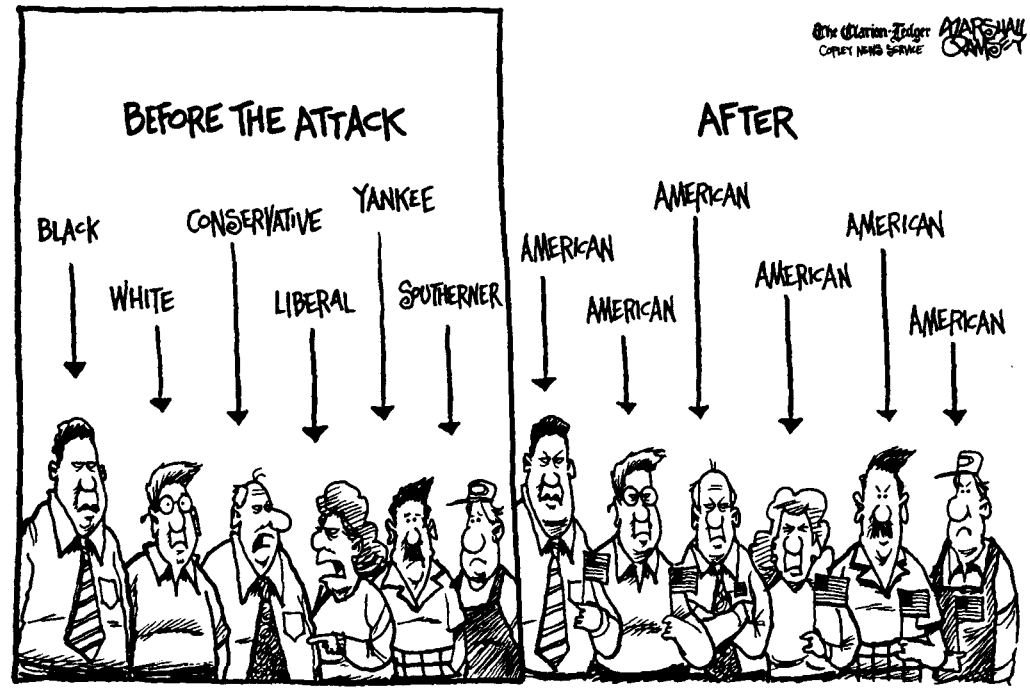
Though airline food's still lousy
And embolisms tease
Their way along one's bloodstream,
Especially in Coach;
While First Class hyperventilates
When trolley drinks approach.

—W. H. VON DREELE



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The Western Edge

ARTHUR HERMAN

Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power, by Victor Davis Hanson (Doubleday, 492 pp., $29.95)

THE serious academic historian ignores military history, treating it as a form of misplaced machismo, fit only for "buffs" of various wars, collectors of toy soldiers, and denizens of retrograde enclaves like West Point and the Naval Academy. As a result, military history is the most popular and creative form of historical writing today. Its pariah status in the university has allowed it to flourish unpolluted by postmodernism and political correctness. Civil War history is the one remaining field in American history where authors are routinely expected to do painstaking work in the original sources *and* write clear and even moving prose. Authors like Stephen Ambrose and John Keegan have shown that the story of men at war can teach lessons that go far beyond the recitation of battlefield tactics and individual deeds of heroism: It can expose important characteristics of a society in a given time and place, and sharply reveal human nature at its most exalted and its most base. This is the sort of moral framework the events of this September have thrust upon us, just as similar events did in 1861 and 1941.

No one offers a more compelling picture of how wars reflect and affect the societies, including our own, that wage them than does Victor Davis Hanson in his latest book, *Carnage and Culture*. Hanson is the rising star of the new military history. A classicist whose scholarly works brilliantly and chillingly reconstruct what fighting in an ancient Athenian or Spartan battle was really like, he is fascinated by the link between the culture of war and the grim everyday realities of making a living on the land. Because Greek farmers could not afford to be away from their fields and vines for any prolonged period, Hanson argues, they created a new kind of military conflict, the head-on battle, in order to decide the bitter competitions between Greek city-states in the quickest and most efficient way possible. These jarring collisions of men and steel in a single decisive clash became the preferred military culture of the West—as other societies soon learned to their cost.

By Roman Genn

How the Greek way of war evolved into Western military prowess is the subject of Hanson's book. It is an important book not just because it traces how the Western way of war emerged as the dominant form of warfare on the planet. It also shows how the character of the West's unique view of war and conquest was shaped by the basic character of its civilization. From the Greeks to Vietnam, Western civilization generated a military culture based on the discipline, rationality, and technological power that characterize Western culture as a whole. No other civilization can begin to compete with this military culture: Despite the bravery and prowess of its Persian, Arab, Asian, African, and Native American opponents, Western military dominance was, and is, undeniable. "It is almost a truism," Hanson concludes, "that the chief military worry of a Western army for the past 2,500 years was another Western army." He acknowledges that non-Western armies can score temporary successes against an outnumbered or surprised Western force, as at Little Big Horn, Pearl Harbor (and, we might add, the September 2001 terrorist attacks). But in the end, the West wins—every time.

There is a scene in the movie *Lawrence of Arabia* where the British military adviser, Col. Brighton (played by Anthony Quayle), tries to persuade Prince Faisal (Alec Guinness) to turn his Bedouin warriors over to European officers. Brighton argues that adopting Western methods of drill and discipline can guarantee victory over the Turks. "Great Britain," he tells Faisal, "is a small country, poor compared to some, but yet it is great. And why?" "Because it has guns," interjects Prince Faisal. "Because it has discipline," Brighton insists, pounding his fist in the sand.

The fashion among most historians is to agree with Faisal: The West won because it had the "unfair" advantage of superior technology or favorable geography, as if these were somehow similar accidents of history. Hanson, however, casts his vote with Brighton: The West's rise to dominance was not an accident.

Mr. Herman is the author of the forthcoming book *How the Scots Invented the Modern World.*

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Its military prowess over the centuries has been the result of "larger social, economic, political, and cultural practices that themselves seemingly have little to do with war": traditions of rational organization and free inquiry, economic self-interest, and—the West's most startling and innovative trait—democratic individualism.

The Greek battle phalanx was the expression of the ancient city-state's sense of itself as an egalitarian social unit, bound together in the face of danger by a desire to defend its homes and farms. With discipline and training, that desire overcame the individual's natural impulse to run. The Greek hoplite farmer was thus the archetype of all citizen-soldiers.

The Greek way of war proved overwhelmingly successful against non-Greeks such as the Persians, who, like most of the West's future opponents, were not free, not as well armed, and not as determined to win or die. Alexander the Great used the Greek way of war to conquer Asia; the Romans borrowed it and developed their invincible legions, building an empire that stretched from Scotland to the Tigris and Euphrates. Even as the West continued to develop more and more sophisticated ways of killing people on the battlefield—including appropriating inventions of other cultures, such as gunpowder, and applying them in new and appallingly lethal ways—the backbone of the Western system of war remained the heavily armed foot soldier, an individual killing machine trained to fight in order to control territory and annihilate the enemy's ability to resist.

Despite the glamorous myth of knights in shining armor, Hanson shows that almost all important battles in the Middle Ages were fought and decided on foot, by men who were small freeholders in a labor-intensive agricultural economy. The medieval "grunt," with his chain-mail shirt, conical helmet, and sword and shield, repelled the Moors at Poitiers and conquered the Holy Land in the Crusades (although his leaders later abandoned it). His own skill in battle—like that of his Roman and Greek predecessors, and his modern European and American successors—rested on a "core of practices passed on from generation to generation" that were in turn based on the Western belief in the worth of the individual, both on and off the battlefield. Even the Spanish conquistadors, for all their religious fanaticism and greed for gold, recognized that their war against the Aztecs was also a conflict of cultures. One culture saw the human being as fodder for massive human sacrifices on a killing scale unmatched (as Hanson points out) until Auschwitz. The other reflected, however imperfectly, larger Western values inherited from the Greeks and Romans—including the need for courage and discipline in battle. The Greeks gave their warships names like *Democracy* and *Free Speech*; the American military likewise predicates its success on its subservience to basic democratic virtues.

This was true even in Vietnam. The subject of Hanson's last chapter is the extraordinary carnage of the American war in Indochina—extraordinary because never before had a Western army achieved such overwhelming success on the battlefield, only to throw away all its advantages in the political arena. Hanson distributes blame for the failure in Vietnam evenhandedly, and in familiar places: the distortions of the media and leftist activists (although he sees them, too, as part of a Western tradition stretching back to the Greeks—that of open public criticism and scrutiny of military operations), and the inability of some generals and politicians to realize that swift and overwhelming victory might cost fewer lives than would the prolonged agony of a failed war and the murderous Communist state that resulted. He also points out that the U.S. combat soldiers in Vietnam left a matchless record of skill and courage, under fire both from the rice paddies and from the U.S. media.

■

The American military predicates its success on its subservience to basic democratic virtues.

■

Hanson concludes with speculations about the future of the Western way of war. His book strongly suggests that Western technology, for all its awesome power, cannot substitute for the foot soldier as the indispensable tool of warfare. But this prompts a disturbing thought. The backbone of Western armies has always been the farm boy and the "working-class stiff": a young man accustomed to hard physical labor, inured to activities involving not just exertion but the risk of bodily harm, and willing to sweat or freeze in order to protect what is his own from nature or an intruder. If he disappears from our modern society, as the decline of America's agricultural and blue-collar base suggests, who will take his place? Will a culture in which simple skills such as milking a cow, cutting hay, castrating a calf, or digging postholes for fencing are lost arts still provide the human material it needs to defend itself in battle?

Events over the next several months may put that issue to the test, as America mobilizes for another war. This may be "a new kind of war," as some commentators like to claim; but as Hanson amply demonstrates, the West has had to fight new kinds of wars ever since Salamis and Marathon—and has won each of them. This skill in adapting new technologies and tactics remains part and parcel of the Western legacy, even when confronting terrorists and fanatical guerrillas.

One possible target in this war is Afghanistan, a country with some of the world's toughest warriors; but the Aztecs and the Zulus and the World War II-era Japanese were tough too. Even with Stinger missiles and other American weapons, Afghanistan would inevitably have lost its war against the USSR had the Soviets not—like the U.S. in Vietnam—lost heart for the fight first.

This will be the final test in this war, too. In the end, we are forced to conclude with Hanson that the more wars change, the more they stay the same. They pose for us a basic paradox: Our free society generates the means to wage overwhelming, devastating war against our opponents, but the same freedom offers outlets that can undermine the inflexible resolve and sense of unanimous moral will needed to pursue a war to its ultimate limits, to win at any cost.

It's a character test. Hanson's fascinating book suggests that more might be at stake here than just Western "hegemony." Our most basic virtues as a society may hang in the balance as well. **NR**

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All in the Family

CAROL IANNONE

The Broken Hearth: Reversing the Moral Collapse of the American Family, by William J. Bennett (Doubleday, 199 pp., $22.95)

WORDS shape thoughts as much as thoughts shape words, George Orwell maintained, and surely the phrase "single mother" proves his point. Unlike descriptive phrases like "unwed mother," this new term erased the distinctions among widowed, divorced, unmarried, and even adoptive mothers—and thus obscured any sense of disapproval, responsibility, or shame. Advertisers were quick to target the "single mother" as a new demographic category, and baby showers for unmarried women became common. ("I'd be happy to send a gift to the wedding," a nervy friend of mine responded when asked to chip in for a pregnant coworker whose connection to the father remained vague.) Eventually, "single mother" even came to signify something of an achievement, regardless of how attained; according to a recent Gallup poll, 62 percent of people in their twenties now think it acceptable for a woman to have a child on her own.

Words, however, cannot long obscure reality when a man like William Bennett determines to confront the truth. In his bold new book, Bennett plunges past the complacencies to present the genuine "cataclysm" of family dissolution:

> Since 1960, the divorce rate has more than doubled; out-of-wedlock births have skyrocketed from one in twenty to one in three; the percentage of single parent families has more than tripled; the number of couples cohabiting has increased by almost tenfold; the fertility rate has decreased by almost half. In record numbers, we have seen fathers deserting their wives and children—and being permitted to do so without reproach or penalty of any kind. We have seen stay-at-home mothers mocked. We have seen the advent of something called the "parenting deficit"—a polite way of saying that many adults are, in effect, absent.

Although himself a conservative and a Christian, Bennett doesn't blame this historically unprecedented decline solely on liberals and secularists. He asserts that "we could not have experienced the scale of marital breakdown we have witnessed since 1960 unless huge numbers of our fellow citizens—conservative and liberal, believers and non-believers alike—had willingly detached themselves from once-solemn commitments made to spouses and children."

Some analysts argue that family structures have changed through history, and that no particular form is best. Others insist that marriage, divorce, and illegitimacy are personal matters and not of public concern. Still others, especially conservatives, celebrate marginal statistical improvements in some of these areas, as though they indicated that the problems were being resolved. Contrarily, some despairing individuals believe that as a society we are so far gone that nothing can save us.

■

Bennett says apathy and despair are greater foes than the liberationist philosophies.

■

Bennett has heard all of these arguments and isn't buying any of them. The idea that such widespread dysfunctional behavior is a private matter would be laughable if it weren't so destructive, and Bennett points out how family decline is linked to social pathologies such as crime, welfare dependency, educational underachievement, substance abuse, and sexually transmitted diseases. In answer to those who point out that family structures have changed before, Bennett gives a brief historical sketch designed to show that the nuclear family—built on love, companionship, and devotion to children—is a civilizational achievement, one we should no more be willing to see disappear than we would the other painfully bought achievements that have elevated human life and facilitated the "sheer, stunning success of Western civilization."

And while statistical decline in any pathology is obviously welcome, the recent improvements make only a small dent in the mountain of misery and disorder that still looms over society. The U.S. has one of the highest divorce rates in the world, for example, and 40 percent of children who grew up in the 1980s and early 1990s were children of divorce. To those who feel that there is nothing to be done, or, alternatively, that such developments are the inevitable byproduct of modernity, Bennett argues that we must reconsider the values that have led us to this disaster and support public policies that will begin to reverse the collapse.

Indeed, he finds apathy and despair to be greater foes than the liberationist philosophies that have foolishly cheered us on to the current mess. "One reason so many American families are dissolving, or never forming," Bennett argues, "is that many of us have forgotten *why* we believe—and why we *should* believe—in the family." His purpose is "to reinforce moral sentiments" that many Americans still hold but, unlike my nervy friend with the baby shower, are intimidated from acting on or even articulating. (Nowadays, to appear disapproving is worse than any behavior that might actually warrant disapproval.) We must "reclaim the ideal [of the family] itself," he insists, "so that it may serve as a guidepost, something high and estimable that we strive to attain," even if we often fall short.

To this end, Bennett presents arguments from anthropology, sociology, biology, morality, and religion in support of the traditional family. Research has revealed that far from bringing the promised liberation and freedom, the new behaviors have brought broken lives and heartache. For example, children of divorced, never-married, and remarried parents do worse physically, emotionally, psychologically, educationally, and financially than children raised by two married parents. In addition, divorced adults themselves also show more physical and emotional illness, engage more in substance abuse, have higher rates of suicide, and are more likely to die prematurely. Divorced women especially suffer financial loss and poverty.

Carol Iannone writes on literature and culture for a variety of publications.

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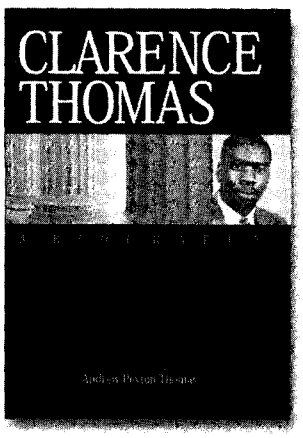
And it may all be for nothing. As Linda J. Waite and Maggie Gallagher point out in *The Case for Marriage*, cited by Bennett, studies show that many couples who almost divorced report being quite content with their marriages five years later. Meanwhile, second marriages are often no happier than the first, and actually end in higher rates of breakup.

Still, men and women continue to suit themselves on these matters, and Bennett reflects on some of the elements that lead to family dissolution—greed, materialism, hyperindividualism, unwillingness to sacrifice personal wants for a greater good. The steady stream of poison that spills hourly from the television also hurts, he suggests indirectly, accustoming people to gross vulgarity and thoughtless sensualism in the living of life. (Even a prime-time family program like *The Drew Carey Show* will offhandedly drop shockingly filthy remarks.) Bennett argues against no-fault divorce and against a welfare policy that continues to subsidize illegitimacy despite demanding that single mothers work; he also presents a vigorous case against homosexual marriage. On the positive side, he defends the family as a high human good, defining it as a "setting of intimacy, companionship, and deep friendship, a place where people learn patience, grace, and the joy" of giving themselves to something larger than the individual will.

All in all, this book is a bracing tonic for a sick society. But Bennett sometimes undercuts his own analysis by repeatedly asserting that we don't want to turn back the clock, that we must never return to the "unequal position" women once occupied. To be sure, he notes that the changes in women's lives have entailed costs, but he weakens his argument when he laments the time when "women were subjugated and demeaned." Aside from the fact that he appears to endorse the entire feminist view of the history of American women as one of stupefying oppression (resulting in their having to endure the burden of life seven or so years longer than men), are we so completely sure that we don't want to turn back the clock? Or, if we can't turn back the clock, can we at least be clear about the time change? Bennett says that we have much to learn from the Fifties, in that they were a period of exceptional family stability. Is society to be faulted for apportioning sex roles toward this salutary outcome? Is it only coincidence that most mothers did not work at that time?

Granted, it is difficult to see how all the conflicting desires and knotty demands of life today can ever be straightened out, but we should at least stop equivocating. We should be humble enough to admit that our understanding of these issues goes only this far: that, as a society, we have rejected higher goods—the well-being of children, family solidarity, the nobility of self-transcendence—for lesser goods, such as career, self-development, financial gain, and untrammeled independence. And leave it for the next wave of understanding to untie the knots. **NR**



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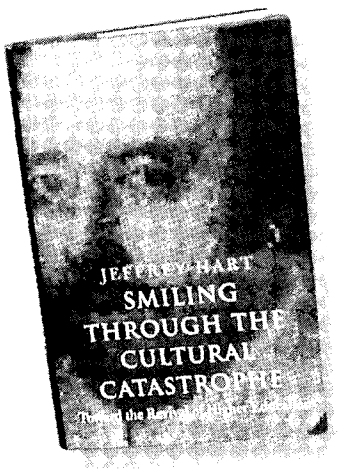

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Neither Nor

NAOMI SCHAEFER

Common Prayers: Faith, Family, and a Christian's Journey Through the Jewish Year, by Harvey Cox (Houghton Mifflin, 305 pp., $24)

HARVEY COX is not afraid to reinvent himself. In 1965, the Harvard Divinity School professor published *The Secular City*, in which he predicted, if not the death of God, then at least the death of traditional religion. In 1984, religion was making something of a comeback, and so—like any fortune-teller worth his tea leaves—Cox tried a little reinterpretation. In his second major work, *Religion in the Secular City*, he examined two of the movements he judged responsible for this revival—fundamentalism and liberation theology. Not surprisingly, given his own leftist political orientation, he predicted the failure of the former and the success of the latter. He had once again bet on the wrong horse: Fundamentalism today is vigorous, and liberation theology is on the wane.

Undeterred, Cox is back. His new book, *Common Prayers*, barely mentions secularism, let alone liberation theology. Rather, it describes the author's personal return to traditional religion, albeit not his own. As Cox tells it, about 15 years ago he entered into his second marriage, this time to a Jewish woman, with whom he has one child, Nicholas. Before Nicholas was born, the two decided that he would be raised in the Jewish tradition. Since then Cox has learned a great deal about Judaism, and he summarizes his findings here in an eminently readable form.

The book's subtitle hints at its useful structure. Explaining Judaism, a religion of practices and rituals, through its calendar is probably the way that most Jews would do it. Beginning with the Sabbath, which Cox calls his favorite holiday, and traveling through the Jewish New Year, Passover, and Israeli Independence Day (to name a few), he explains not only the origins of each of the Jewish holy days and festivals, but also how they are typically celebrated by American Jews generally and by his own family in particular.

Cox's chapters often begin with an initial Christian response to the holiday. Describing the "near-euphoric" singing and dancing of Jews during Simhat Torah—the celebration that marks the end of the annual reading of the five books of Moses—Cox explains, "it is the holiday when Jews act most like Pentecostals." But the dancers "are hugging large, rolled-up scrolls encased in silk covers": Torahs. He quickly turns from first impressions to deeper lessons: "It is a holiday in which I catch a glimpse of something utterly fundamental to Judaism . . . that for Jews the Law is not a burden, a hindrance, or an obstacle to living a fully human and vitally spiritual life. . . . It is a generous gift which God bestows on his people simply out of love." In the process of

Naomi Schaefer, a Phillips Foundation journalism fellow, is writing a book on religious colleges in the U.S.

ENDINGS

If the winter comes to stay,
how much then will north wind
weigh?

What is pitiable and thin,
yet still locks the city in?

What does autumn think of death
now? And what has lost its breath

hunting through each cancelled
square
a brief whiteness in the air?

What has blizzards at its lips
and bitten spears for fingertips?

What did the pale snowman say
when his eyes were burned away

and he toppled like a tree?
Did he ever speak of me?

—ROBERT MEZEY

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Should coerced treatment replace prison for first time, non-violent drug offenders?

Yes for situations where drug use is out of control. But most people who use drugs do so socially and in moderation. This applies the same to marijuana, cocaine and heroin as it does to alcohol.

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- **87 million Americans have used illegal drugs** [1]
- **27 million used them last year** [1]
- **3.6 million are dependent on an illegal drug** [2]

Forcing a moderate drug user into treatment is like putting someone who drinks a bottle of beer or a glass of wine a day into Alcoholics Anonymous!

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Sources:

1: "Summary of Findings from the 1999 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse," Office of Applied Studies, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, US Dept. of Health and Human Services (Washington, DC: SAMHSA, August 2000), p. G5, Table G5. (Lifetime use, any illicit drug: 87,734,000; Use in past year, any illicit drug, 26,220,000.)

2: "Summary of Findings from the 1999 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse," Office of Applied Studies, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, US Dept. of Health and Human Services (Washington, DC: SAMHSA, August 2000), p. 36. ("In 1999, an estimated 3.6 million Americans [1.6 percent of the total population age 12 and older] were dependent on illicit drugs.")

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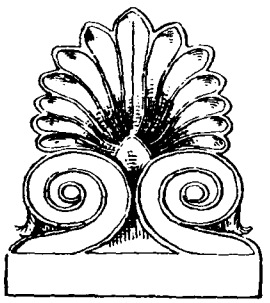
learning about Judaism, Cox often reports being disabused of his previous stereotypes about Judaism as an onerously "legalistic" faith with a God whose concern is more with punishment than love of His people.

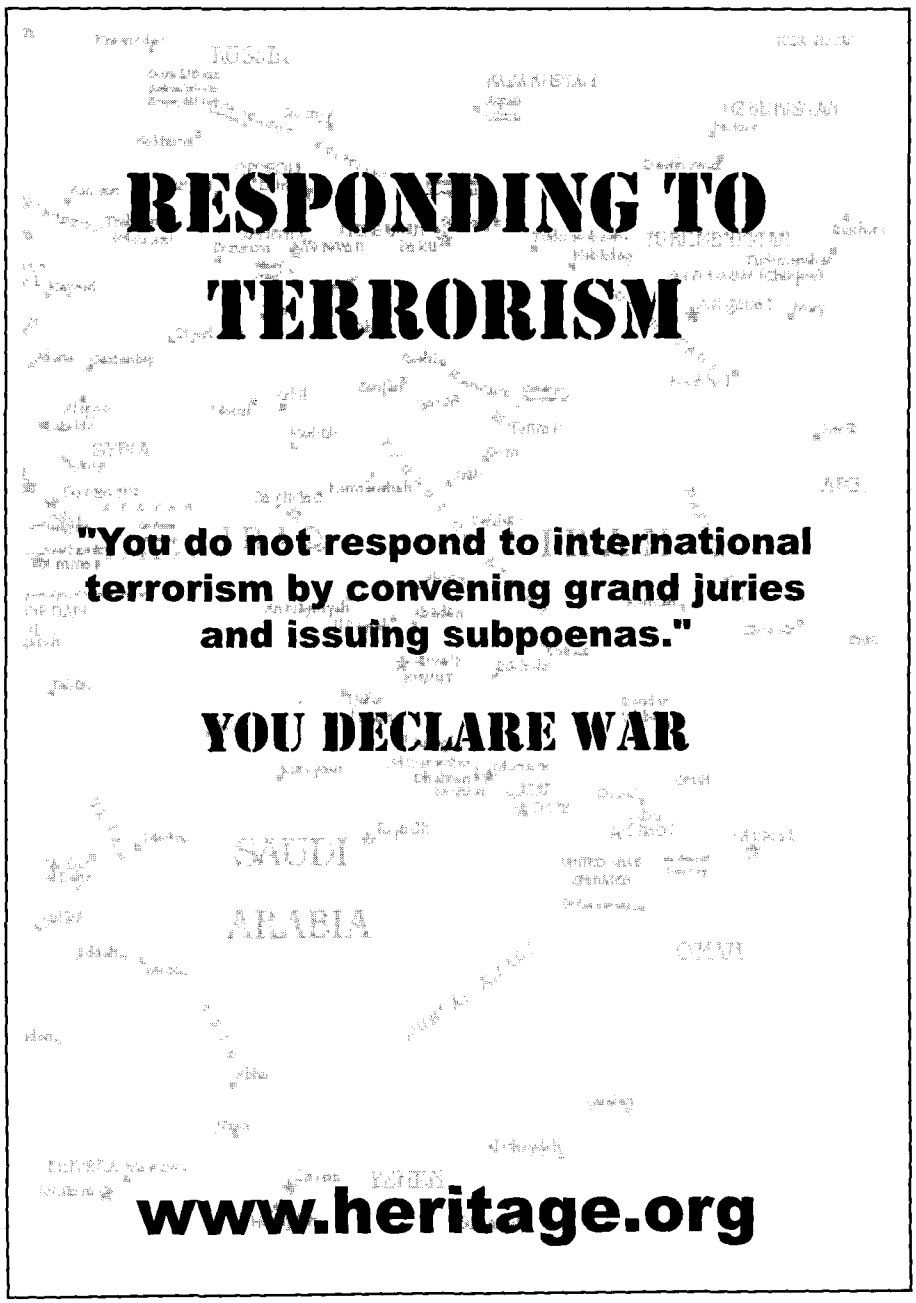
But *Common Prayers* is more than a corrective to Gentile misconceptions about Judaism; Cox also delves into many of the fundamental dilemmas with which modern Jews wrestle. When he accompanies his wife and son to synagogue on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, he is struck by the section of the service in which the congregation recites, "We have dealt treacherously, we have spoken slander, we have acted perversely . . . we have done violence, we have framed lies . . . scoffed, revolted, rebelled." Of course, Cox realizes, most of the people in the congregation have not committed these sins, but since there are some in the community who have, everyone must recite it. This raises an obvious question: Can anyone actually repent for someone else? Cox uses this as a springboard for a lengthy discussion of collective repentance. Drawing on his own Protestant tradition, he asks, "Wasn't Luther right? Doesn't repentance require a change of heart by the transgressor, an intention to try to do better?" While Cox remains unsatisfied with the answers he receives, there are other parts of Yom Kippur that he believes Christians might learn from: for example, the requirement that Jews first seek forgiveness from their fellow men for transgressions against them before they seek forgiveness from God.



Cox's effort to create common ground for Christians and Jews can occasionally descend into silliness. He argues that Sukkot—the Jewish harvest festival—should return to its original prominence in the Jewish calendar (from which it receded as agriculture became a less common occupation) because we are facing an "ecological deadline" of limited natural resources. While it is true that during Sukkot and Ash Wednesday, Judaism and Christianity emphasize the fragility of all life, neither holiday was meant to commemorate, as Cox suggests they should, the twin disasters of global warming and El Niño.

The most interesting parts of *Common Prayers* describe how, over the years, the Jewish rituals, in which he originally participated for his son's benefit, have become spiritually meaningful for Cox himself. For instance, after initially finding it hard to understand the extensive search for *chametz* (leavened-bread products), which must be cleaned from the house before Passover begins, Cox ultimately likens the ritual to the Christian process of "searching one's conscience." "While looking for crumbs," he writes, "I am sweeping the junk from my own soul."

Cox's exercise in interfaith dialogue has a pressing purpose, beyond a general desire to promote harmony. "I want to question the idea," he writes, "that a Jewish-Christian marriage necessarily dilutes the substance of either or both spouses' faiths." With intermarriage rates for the Jewish community having long ago topped 50 percent, rabbis of all denominations have recently tried to launch an attack on what they see as a growing threat to the survival of Judaism. A couple of recent major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studies have shown that children of intermarried couples are far less likely to go to synagogue, join Jewish organizations, and receive a Jewish education than children of two Jewish parents. Cox offers his own experience to counter these claims. And after reading his account, one has little doubt that Nicholas will have a fairly strong Jewish identity—probably stronger than many of his Hebrew-school classmates.

The problem, of course, is that Cox and his wife are the exception rather than the rule. Not only did they consciously choose to raise their son in the Jewish faith (most intermarried couples choose not to—opting instead for Christianity, for a combination of both faiths, or for neither), but Cox has thrown himself into Jewish practice wholeheartedly. And he has found Judaism itself so fulfilling that he encourages other Gentiles who marry Jews to make sure their children "will not be lost to the Jewish people" but "will be considered Jewish and will be nurtured and educated to grow up with that realization."

■

Cox has thrown himself wholeheartedly into Jewish practice.

■

Citing the relatively small number of Jews who remain in the world (14 million, compared to 2 billion Christians), Cox proclaims that Catholics and Protestants alike must take "every measure possible to ensure that Jews—as a people—will continue to be numbered among the peoples of this earth." Most Jews, of course, would welcome his telling those Christians who intermarry that, given the fewness of Jews and the importance of what they represent in the world, it would be better to raise their kids Jewish. But Cox's arrangement is extremely atypical, and it's hard to imagine its widespread adoption by interreligious couples.

Reading Cox's startling exhortation to his fellow Gentiles, along with his sympathetic account of the Jewish religion, one cannot help wondering why he doesn't just convert. In a way, it seems, he already has. **NR**

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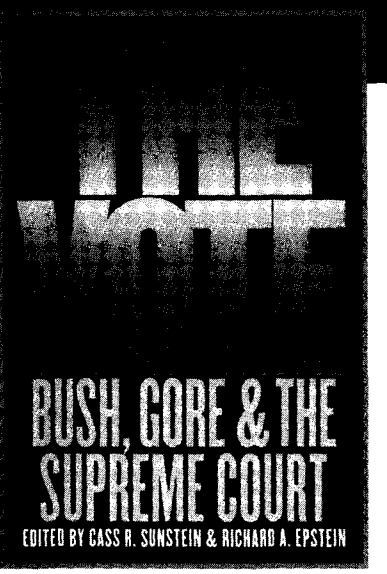

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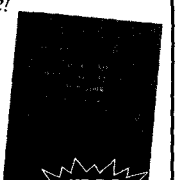

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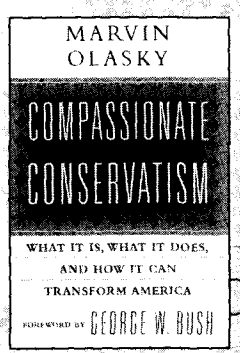

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JAY NORDLINGER

THE world is bursting with good young violinists—of every nationality, every temperament, and each sex—and one of the best of the lot is **Maxim Vengerov**, a Russian. His latest album is a humdinger called *Vengerov & Virtuosi* (from EMI Classics). The virtuosi in question are actually a group called Virtuosi, a Russian-Israeli ensemble of eleven violinists. That's a lot of violinists, of course, almost as many as there are Yale Cellos. There is precedent for this sort of group in Russia. Vengerov, in the liner notes to his album, tells a story about Stalin (yes, Stalin). It seems the old dictator once attended a concert being given by a string quartet. He demanded, "Why do you have just four musicians playing? Wouldn't it sound better if you had more?" To that, one could only reply, "How many would you like, Boss?" Stalin said, "At least ten!" So that particular ensemble was beefed up considerably.

(Those in power have long dictated to musicians, with varying degrees of success. André Previn titled his memoir of Hollywood *No Minor Chords*. Why? Because Irving Thalberg, of MGM, once heard something in a film score that didn't sit well with him. "What the hell was that?" he asked an aide. The aide, bewildered, said, "I dunno, sir. I think it was a minor chord." Whereupon Thalberg issued a memo saying, "Henceforth there shall be no minor chords in an MGM picture.")

Maxim Vengerov with the eleven violinists and an excellent piano accompanist, Vag Papian, turns out to be a very good idea. The program is showpieces and old favorites, intelligently arranged by the Virtuosi leader, Mikhail Parhamovsky. And the strength, of course, is Vengerov, whose gifts as a violinist are practically complete. He has a gorgeous, adaptable tone, a prodigious technique, and loads of musical talent—than which it's hard to ask for more. He is a bit of a showman, when he wants to be, and that, naturally, is part of the violinistic package: No sense in doing showpieces without a little showiness, though always in musicianly fashion. Vengerov is the sort of guy who obviously revels in his own talent, a player who probably has as much fun in his own practice room as in a glittering concert hall seating thousands.

He begins with Rachmaninoff's "Vocalise," which has been the object of—and the victim of—every kind of transcription imaginable. You don't think you can bear hearing another one, but the one here is a winner. Vengerov is melting, transporting. And then there's Manuel Ponce's old "Estrellita," which, in the young man's hands, is saucy and charming and achingly lovely. Fritz Kreisler would only beam and approve. Brahms's "Hungarian Dances" are soulful and unbridled, with Vengerov and friends clearly having a ball. Violinists, perhaps more than most musicians, enjoy letting their hair down: Even the (relatively) austere Jascha Heifetz recorded with Bing Crosby (though the money must have been good, too). The Dvorak "Humoreske" is fetching, but the best transcription of all time belongs to Art Tatum, who absolutely slew the piece. Vengerov concludes with Vittorio Monti's "Csardas," an emblematic item for this instrument: Every violinist, no matter where he's from, no matter what his training, is part Gypsy, somehow.

When I first noticed this album, I sort of groaned: These schlocky things again? But Vengerov makes them new and thrilling, and he joins the ranks of the finest exponents of what you might call the Old World repertory. It had occurred to me to describe *Vengerov & Virtuosi* as a "guilty pleasure." But then: There's no guilt necessary.

One musician about whom there is never any guilt, only satisfaction, is **Zoltan Kocsis**, a Hungarian pianist especially known for his advocacy of Debussy and Bartok. These composers may not seem like natural twins—but they have much in common, and Kocsis, in any case, is a pianist for all seasons, and men.

He has just completed his traversal of the complete works of Bartok, offering up the seventh and final volume of his series (on Philips). The pianist has all the tools for playing Bartok: He is a master of the "dry" and "hard" sounds (for beauty of

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tone isn't necessarily an aim in this music, as it is not in Prokofiev, another composer Kocsis handles exceptionally well). He has great rhythmic sense, never straying or lapsing. He has the ability—not so common in pianists—to play coarsely, percussively, without banging. And he boasts tremendous clarity, in addition to ample color: His gift for Debussy is not irrelevant here, as there are Impressionistic touches in Bartok, to go with gleaming, or stark, Modernism. Always, this playing is intelligent and persuasive. Kocsis is quite simply one of the greatest champions Bartok has ever had, along with his (their) countrymen Lili Kraus and Geza Anda. (Can a non-Hungarian play Bartok? Of course—viz., Horowitz.)

■

Zoltan Kocsis has provided one of the best "completes" in the history of piano recording.

■

For its authority, Kocsis's complete Bartok stands as one of the best such "completes" in the piano discography (one thinks of Robert Casadesus's traversal of Ravel as well). He has rendered to Bartok—a versatile, ingenious, and often misunderstood composer—a genuine service.

Still another musician of rare taste and ability is the French baritone **Gérard Souzay**, who retired in the 1980s. He never quite equaled the popularity of his German colleague, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, but he, too, was a superb singer of *Lieder*, and he was unsurpassed in French *mélodies*. He had an elegant voice, a knack for words and phrasing, and an all-pervading musicality. Not for nothing does he have a cult following, although that following is probably too broad to deserve the description "cult."

The Testament label has reissued several Souzay albums, including one entitled *Songs of Many Lands*. All, or certainly many, singers down the years have indulged in such a collection, for better or worse—and Souzay, with his feel for languages and his natural, open musicianship, was especially well suited to the enterprise. This disc contains over 30 songs, in about half as many tongues, from—well, as the title promises, in its homely fashion—many lands. These pieces must have served Souzay as encores as he concertized throughout the world. For example, he might have given an Oslo audience Grieg's "Til Norge" ("To Norway"), and they would have swooned. You really haven't lived until you've heard Elisabeth Schwarzkopf sing "Danny Boy," as she did, heartbreakingly, for her English audiences. (Victoria de los Angeles would sing "Blow the Wind Southerly." You didn't understand a word, but her sincerity was undeniable, and affecting.)

Souzay—for all his refinement and intellect—is a true troubadour. The German and French songs are magnificent, of course, and he sounds characteristically Slavic in a Czech number, and like a Russian bass in Mussorgsky's famous "Savishna." It must be said that his singing of "The Stuttering Lovers" is hilarious, with his mixture of French accent and an attempted Irish one—but, as with de los Angeles, it is affecting. His American "I'm Goin' Away" is slightly stentorian, but, again, one appreciates the effort. Olga Borodina, the sensational young Russian mezzo-soprano, likes to sing for her U.S. audiences, after her printed program, "Summertime." It is always highly unidiomatic, with all the wrong inflections—but it is weirdly moving.

One of the things Souzay was known for—it sounds so simple, but it mattered—was his plain love of music and his related love of life. This feeling, or appreciation, was reflected in everything he did. He is a musician both to learn from and to savor.

Continuing in a historical vein, but going back even farther, we have ***Legendary Wagner Singers of the 1930s***, from Telefunken's "Legacy" line. These are recordings from both Berlin and Bayreuth, emerging from that ominous decade. The company's engineers have done a remarkable job, for the sound is astonishing—astonishingly good, and revealing. Some of the figures represented here are still fairly well known—such as Max Lorenz and Maria Reining—and others have been obscured over time, for instance Josef von Manowarda and Gertrud Bindernagel (shot dead in her thirties by her husband). Every one of these singers is worth the restoration.

To dip into this two-disc anthology, the

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■ SHELF LIFE ■

At a time of national crisis and understandable anger, we do well to get in touch with our common humanity; an important way to do this is to study the works of great religious and ethical leaders. One of the greatest of the century just past was Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who is the subject of an excellent new book by political scientist Daniel J. Mahoney. In *Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: The Ascent from Ideology* (Rowman & Littlefield, 181 pp., $21.95), Mahoney presents Solzhenitsyn as a man whose love of country is based not on xenophobic ideology but on a patriotism grounded in deep moral principles that transcend race and nation. A wag once observed that patriotism tends to focus on the love of one's own country, while nationalism tends to concentrate on the dislike of other countries; Mahoney makes clear that Solzhenitsyn is firmly in the camp of the patriots.

A man of capacious heart and brilliant mind, Solzhenitsyn faced down a demonic system not by demonizing the flawed human beings who perpetrated its horrors, but by standing up unequivocally for the moral right. Mahoney draws our attention to some of Solzhenitsyn's profoundest moral reflections. This one is from *The Gulag Archipelago*:

> If only it were all so simple! If only there were evil people somewhere insidiously committing evil deeds, and it were necessary only to separate them from the rest of us and destroy them. But the line dividing good and evil cuts through the heart of every human being. . . . This line shifts. Inside us, it oscillates with the years. And even within hearts overwhelmed by evil, one small bridgehead of good is retained. And even in the best of all hearts, there remains . . . an unuprooted small corner of evil.

In the age of ideology, the great temptation is to absolutize one's own vision of the political good—the programs of one's own party—and treat those who disagree as enemies of the good *tout court*. From there, it is but a short step to Auschwitz, the Gulag, and the Laogai. The redefinition of the opponent or the dissident—be he a Jew, a "kulak," or a Falun Gong practitioner—as the less-than-human Other is the essence of Orwellian Newspeak in its political application.

Solzhenitsyn, like Orwell, stood up for the human against the ideological. It was his understanding of the human heart that made him such a powerful force against the Soviet regime; his testimony was too serious to be ignored, even by facile anti-anti-Communists. And the testimony remains important today, even after the fall of the regime that occasioned it. Evil now has a new face, against which our war is just beginning, but the principles of the new struggle are the same ones that motivated us against the Nazis and the Communists: We will fight, to the death, an inhuman ideology that seeks to roll back the global advance of human dignity; and we do so in the hope that after we prevail, we can help kindle the sparks of goodness among our vanquished foes into a brighter future for all.

■ Solzhenitsyn sees the humanity of those who perpetrate evil, but this does not cause him to soft-pedal the facts that (a) it is evil and (b) it must be fought. He shows that moral clarity can exist, and evil can be resisted, without the prop of a dehumanizing ideological hatred. Conservative scholar Michael Ledeen, in his preface to Italian historian Renzo De Felice's *The Jews in Fascist Italy: A History* (Enigma, 777 pp., $38), compares De Felice to Solzhenitsyn. The comparison is just, in that both men spoke unwelcome truths to a society that was engaging in a process of denial about important evils.

De Felice's magisterial account of anti-Semitism in the Mussolini years is nuanced and believable. He recognizes, first, that the traditional anti-Semitism in Italy was dramatically different from the exterminationist race theorizing of the Nazi anti-Semites; but—equally important—he points out that the general failure to cultivate a principled opposition to anti-Semitism in the prewar years left Italian society unable to mount an effective resistance when the Fascists actually implemented pseudoscientific race laws. Fascist propagandist Roberto Farinacci, for example, was able to criticize the Catholic Church's opposition to the race laws as follows: "What has happened for the official Church today to feel no longer anti-Semitic but pro-Semitic? . . . Why do the Communists, the Freemasons, the Democrats, the declared enemies of the Church, offer their services and praise it so highly today? To use it against Fascism. But Fascism is a friend of the Church . . . We cannot, in a few weeks, renounce the anti-Semitic consciousness that the Church itself gave us over thousands of years."

Farinacci's insidious rhetorical device here is to strip the moral armor from his audience by asserting that they are already complicit in the evils they now claim to oppose. If we look at his speech using Solzhenitsyn's moral paradigm, we can see what's really happening: Farinacci is urging his listeners to take the little corner of evil that already exists inside them, and expand it.

De Felice also recounts unblinkingly the strong support the race laws received from important sectors of society (notably young people and the cultural elite). This valuable book has gone through many editions in Italy, and has never before appeared in English.

■ Since 1997, Herbert London has done yeoman work as president of the Hudson Institute. In his new book, *Decade of Denial: A Snapshot of America in the 1990s* (Lexington, 181 pp., $24.95), he provides a *tour d'horizon* of today's culture, in which excess is too often valued for its own sake, and the result is an unhealthy loss of meaning. Typical of this is the carnival surrounding the Super Bowl; London suspects that Vince Lombardi, watching from heaven, would ask, "What the hell does all that stuff have to do with football?" And this is no trivial matter: When the flaunting of affluence becomes a society's highest value, important truths are lost. "Clearly, affluence is better than poverty," writes London, "and as a nation we should take pride in the fact that so many have so much. But we would be wise to flaunt it less, [and] conduct ourselves with dignity . . ."

London is right, but he also sees cause for optimism. Our nation's strong, sober reaction to the terror attacks shows that optimism may be well founded, that we still have it in us to act like the best country in the world.

—Michael Potemra

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soprano Hilde Konetzni sings "Dich, teure Halle" from *Tannhäuser*, and she is stirring and passionate, yet surprisingly lyrical. Hers is not a rich sound—so far as can be discerned from this 1937 cut, even skillfully remastered—but it is nonetheless effective. As for the unfortunate Bindernagel, she is heard in one of the supreme tests for a Wagnerian soprano, the "Liebestod" from *Tristan und Isolde*. She is refreshingly straightforward, not self-consciously sublime or mystical. The tempo is rather fast, by today's standards, which is welcome. Jessye Norman, for example, would take twice as long. I once joked, back in the '80s, that if Norman and Leonard Bernstein performed the "Liebestod" together, they might never finish.

We have the standard selections from *Die Walküre*, with the tenor Franz Völker and the soprano Maria Müller doing the extended duet from Act I. Völker is wondrously clean, smooth, and virile, and Müller is similarly clean, and direct, and exciting, without any stridency. This entire, beloved stretch—conducted by Heinz Tietjen—has terrific energy and youthfulness. It is driving and sensual, just this side of lustful. Afterward, Wotan's "Abschied"—the great scena that ends the opera—is sung by Hans Reinmar. This is one of the most beautiful and profound things in the entire baritone literature, and in Wagner, and in music. It requires a tremendous range, emotionally, covering lamentation, defiance, and tenderest love. Reinmar meets his obligations.

One question to ask, in absorbing these discs, is whether the singers, and conductors, heard here constitute a school—a school of singing and Wagner interpretation. Probably not, but you can't help noticing about these performances that they are *unprecious*: There is no false reverence, no willed profundity, little self-indulgence. Everything is rather robust, brisk, tight, sweeping, having a Classical discipline about it, and a paucity of Romantic, or faux-Romantic, soupiness. What Telefunken has assembled is not just a grouping of historical curiosities, hauled out from the archives for their own sake, absent musical considerations. This anthology is proof of a devotion to a very high art—in the time before the night got darker. **NR**

■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

To an Unknown God: Religious Freedom on Trial, by Garrett Epps (St. Martin's, 289 pp., $24.95)

WAS it lawful for the State of Oregon to deny unemployment compensation to an Indian American named Al Smith, an alcoholism counselor who (quite literally) religiously popped peyote? Yes, according to the Supreme Court in *Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of Oregon* v. *Smith*, a 1990 decision written by Justice Antonin Scalia. *Smith* in large part overturned Justice William Brennan's earlier decision (in *Sherbert* v. *Verner*), which established the "compelling governmental interest" test as the standard to be applied in certain free-exercise cases. Scalia argued that as long as the law in question treats all parties neutrally, it is constitutional.

Garrett Epps sets out to show that the *Smith* decision, in itself, was the death knell of religious freedom in America; but the court had already begun to move away from the *Sherbert* test in other cases. Epps paints Scalia as a villain intent on quashing religious freedom, but contradicts his own claim of diminished freedom as he chronicles the subsequent changes to Oregon and federal law, as well as the softening of the *Smith* rule itself in a later Supreme Court decision.

While Epps does a commendable job of telling the story in a novelistic style, his attempts at poignancy can be condescending. He goes out of his way to make clear that the Oregon attorney general, David Frohnmayer, a Republican who fought Smith in court, is a fine man who perseveres despite horrendous personal tragedies. The implication is clear: Not even a Republican deserves this kind of grief. And in an extraordinary stroke of arrogance, Epps equates the death of Frohnmayer's daughters with what he deems Scalia's equally tragic and "malign . . . plan . . . to take away part of our heritage of religious freedom." But perhaps Epps knows more than we do; this epiphany, he clearly implies, came to him during a peyote-induced state of spiritual clarity that occurred during a ceremony honoring Al Smith.

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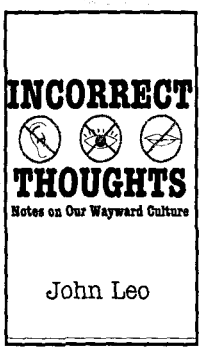

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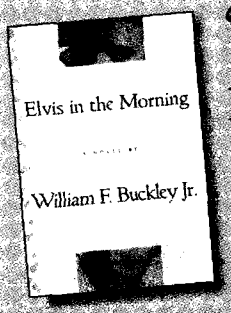

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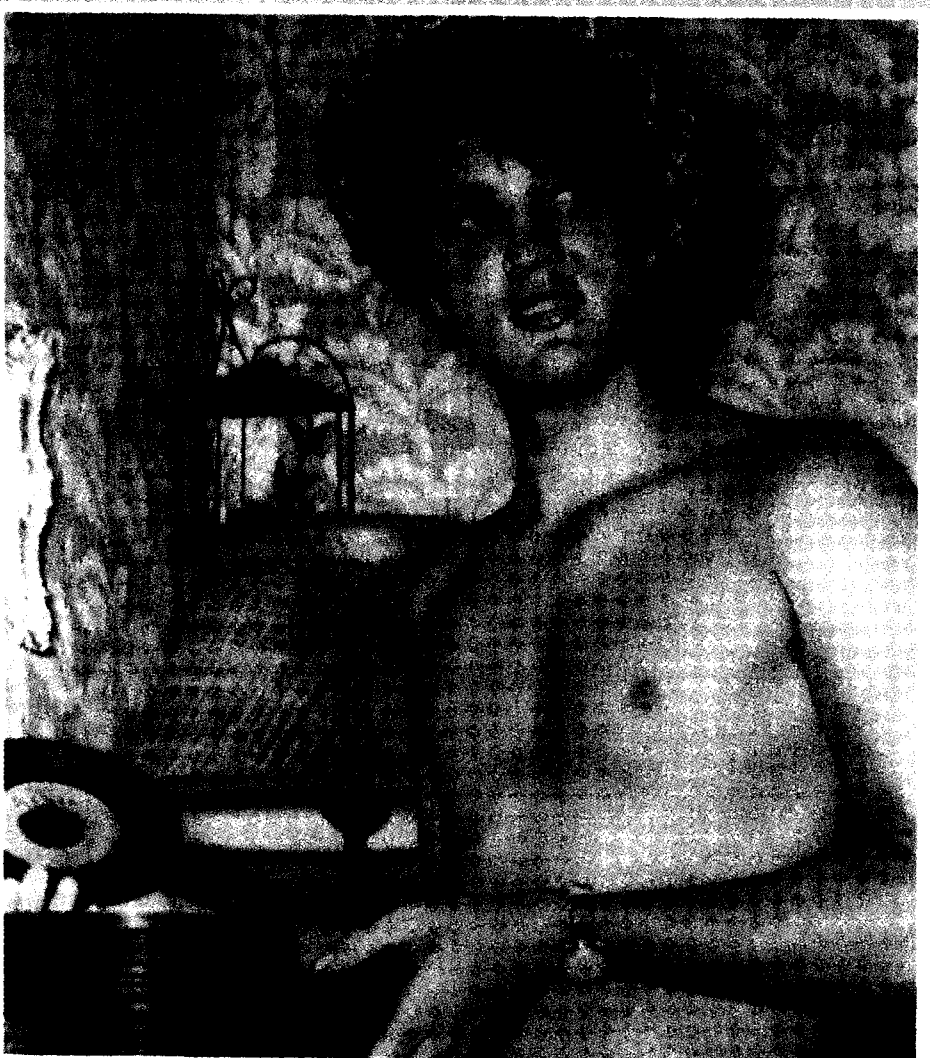

sharpness when subjected to Buckley's surprisingly tender treatment. This is a low-key pleasure of a read, a nostalgic tale that eschews mush and a heartfelt tribute to the tragic figure who touched so many lives."

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Target: Bin Laden

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 12

It is generally acknowledged that if there was consolation after Pearl Harbor, it was that we knew who did it. During those minutes and hours when all of America watched the skyscrapers crumble, a wing of the Pentagon dismembered, New Yorkers by the tens of thousands scrambling for life while hundreds of thousands ached for knowledge of kin, there was the question incessantly posed: Who did it? Many other questions flowed from that one.

Why did we not know anything about it? What ails airport security? How might an aircraft transformed to a torpedo be deflected?

These last questions will take much time to explore. But there is no reason to deliberate over Osama bin Laden's involvement. He is probably the aggressor. If it happens that he is not—that some newborn entrepreneurial terrorist amassed the information and developed the resources to carry through the September 11 massacre—we can proceed on the assumption that any nation equipped to fight a two-front war can fight a two-front terrorist concentration. If Osama is not hand-to-hand guilty of the events of Tuesday, he should suffer as though he was. It would not be as though we were punishing someone blameless. He has gone through the expected formality of denying sponsorship of the World Trade Center massacre—while congratulating those who executed it.

A Taliban spokesman speaking in Pakistan reported his government's position on bin Laden. It is that the government is willing to deport him, but only after proof is presented that bin Laden is guilty. More of the same. The Taliban have reassured us that bin Laden's activities are restricted; the Saudis denied him his citizenship after earlier terrorist acts; after the 1998 embassy attacks in Tanzania and Kenya, the United States launched missiles on bin Laden's training camps in Afghanistan and on a chemicals factory in Sudan; the United Nations has sanctions against Afghanistan for sheltering him; the U.S. posted a $5 million reward to anyone who turns him over. His comment on all the above: "America has been trying ever since [a 1993 attack on U.S. military personnel in Somalia] to tighten its blockade against us and to arrest me. It has failed. This blockade does not hurt us much."

Our challenge is in two parts, the first being the elimination of bin Laden. The speech by President Bush had the singular feature of advising the world that the United States would deal equally with those who perform acts of terrorism and "those who harbor them." That has to mean, most directly, the Taliban government in Afghanistan. It is hardly obvious what it is we are in a position to do. But our movement against the Taliban has to come quickly, and has to be viewed as massive and irreconcilable. It must end in the end of the life of Osama bin Laden.

The second challenge is to confront the sepsis of bin Laden's brand of Moslem fundamentalism. Suicide missions are in vogue in the Mideast. The elimination of bin Laden will lance a boil, but will do less than eliminate the poison. There were several references on Tuesday to the cowardly attacks of the aggressors. But that word was thoughtlessly used, as simply one more weapon in the arsenal of derogation. The kamikaze Japanese pilots were many things, but not cowards. The men who guided the airplanes into their final destination were deranged, and the consequences of what they did were horrible. But those who are willing to give their lives to their cause aren't cowards, and the cause that moves them is proportionately grave. We handled the problem of kamikaze-minded warriors by dropping an atom bomb on the source of that infestation. There is no corresponding target for the holy warriors in Palestine and elsewhere in that part of the world. When it is not possible to reason with holy warriors, it is necessary to immobilize them or crush them. Lopping off the head of bin Laden is a gratifying step, but only a first step. Absolute defensive severity is a necessary defense.

But the broader perspective is indispensable, and it tells us to seek to honor the memory of Tuesday's innocents by standing resolutely by the principles that made their country the object of the special odium of Osama bin Laden.

"I've decided to run the country like a business."

War on Hussein

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 14

It stokes our fury to see or read about demonstrations in parts of the Mideast cheering the devastation of the hijackers. The reality, which at first brings a measure of human understanding, on reflection makes things worse. All of us continue to cheer those moments in movies when we see huge destruction wrought on the historic enemy: 30-seconds-over-Tokyo kind of thing, which three years later graduated into 30 minutes over Berlin, 1945, with 25 times the deaths of September 11, 2001. The focus makes it understandable that there should be those who jump for joy at the remarkable coordinated successes of the hijackers, seeing them as Flying Wallendas executing death-defying stunts in circus air.

But then we force ourselves to recognize the perspective from which one cheered such a thing as Hiroshima. We were at war. Some of the Mideast community are at war. September 11, for them, was nothing more than a great theatrical episode.

But, as with tangos, wars require two parties. And it is time for the reluctant party to act. But in doing so we need to take stock of our own perspective. The enemy has one resource primarily, which is craft. Our resource is: mass. And our problem is where to direct that mass. The search for bin Laden from the skies is almost certainly futile. The spectacle of the United States dropping bombs or firing missiles at miscellaneous mountain peaks in

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Afghanistan is appropriately suggested by a search for Kandahar, where bin Laden occasionally sleeps.

But spokesmen for the administration have given the correct signal, which is that we have more in mind, at this moment, than mere retaliation against co-actors in the WTC/Pentagon strikes. The terrorist act of September 11 was the fruit of a culture nourished by a hatred of America as an aggressive infidel, and of its ways as incomprehensibly liberal. The strain that produced Osama bin Laden is perhaps the most toxic immediately experienced, but it isn't by any means the whole of the plant. And it isn't a growth that would go away if Israel ceased to exist. It is a culture fed by religious and imperial history and by the dogged cultivation of animus. To cope with this requires, in an age of technological weaponry, a decisive confrontation, and the theater for this is Iraq.

It is here and there suggested (for instance, by the writer Mark Helprin) that what was done in New York can only be viewed as prelude to ultimate acts of terrorism, e.g., a nuclear bomb or a pint of anthrax. This is of course speculative, but what isn't speculative is that the machinery of ultimate acts of terrorism is on the drawing boards of Saddam Hussein, whose earliest nuclear program was disrupted by an enterprising Israeli air strike 20 years ago.

We have important advantages in making Saddam Hussein the target of massive U.S. action. We've been at war with him, under the sanction of a United Nations resolution that called for disabling the threat posed by the Iraq of Saddam Hussein. We know now that we made a serious mistake in failing to consummate the war we had engaged in under brilliant political and military leadership. We lost the first round there, when we called an end to the engagement before uprooting the prime instigator of the aggression.

And we lost it again after seven years of desultory efforts to assure that Iraq was not at work producing atomic/biological/chemical weapons. Those years seemed endless, and Richard Butler pleaded with the West to pry from Hussein access to little quarries where A/B/C weapons might be gestating. But as with enforcing economic sanctions against Iraq, the Western will drooped. The U.N. commission to explore forbidden weaponry more or less folded, job incomplete.

The approach now should be very different. The word to Saddam Hussein should be: We are coming into Baghdad. We will arrive in force, together with Pakistani and Egyptian and Russian military units. Your aggressive war of 1990 and your shelter of terrorist units ever since make you an enemy.

From now on, enemies who are associated with terrorist activity will not cohabit the globe with the United States of America.

Invoking God's Thunder

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 18

NOW that the Reverend Jerry Falwell has apologized for his ignorant misapplication of Christian thought, we can reflect on one or two questions lying about in the rubble.

What Jerry Falwell said on the *700 Club* program was that the sins of the nation incurred the wrath of God. Pat Robertson agreed. After a day or two of pretty general clamor, including a disavowal by President Bush, the language was slightly changed. What happened, Falwell elucidated, was not a direct aggression engineered by God, but the forfeit of God's special protection.

That refinement didn't do it. So finally Mr. Falwell said that his remarks were "insensitive, uncalled for at the time, and unnecessary." He apologized for making them. Among the protesters was the Greensboro, North Carolina, *News & Record*, whose editorial said that "people who hold positions of religious leadership have a responsibility to think before they speak and to consider the implications of what they are about to say. Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson failed that test in a most revolting way. They have forfeited any claim to Christian leadership."

Certainly they have reminded the community in general, and the Christian community especially, that even ordained ministers of the faith are able terribly to misteach Christian thought.

What Falwell did was to accumulate his complaints against the engines of a secularized America and invoke God as an avenger. His complaints against abortion, gay rights, the end of prayer in schools, boiled down to God vs. the ACLU, the attack on the World Trade Center being a divine shot across the bow of the Supreme Court.

Transcriptions of God's manners in such fashion lend themselves to massive, if facile, retribution. "Falwell and Robertson," the economic analyst Andy Tobias wrote on his website, "have convinced themselves that when a hurricane hit Virginia Beach (Robertson's neck of the woods), there's no meaning to it, and that when a hurricane fails to hit Orlando as predicted in retribution for Disney's equal-rights policies for gays, there's no meaning to it, and that when AIDS devastates the (straight) population of Africa, or 6 million innocent Jews and 3 million innocent Cambodians are exterminated, God merely works in mysterious ways. But when religious fanatics crash planes into the World Trade Center because they believe it will take them to a special place in heaven, this is not caused by a fanatic religious certitude greater in degree but not entirely dissimilar from their own. Rather they conclude that it is caused, at least in part, because people like me [Tobias is gay and the treasurer of the Democratic National Committee] have made God mad."

The Old Testament's most inscrutable book is Jonah's, recounting the passage of God's emissary to Nineveh to advise of the impending apocalypse brought on by affronts to the Word. Jonah survives the whale that swallowed him, reaches Nineveh, and is dismayed to learn that God has forgiven the wicked of that place. Jonah acknowledges the mercy of God, but roils at the humiliation done to him, preaching a false message. He informs God that he wishes to give up his own life, "for it is better for me to die than to live." *Then said the Lord, Doest thou well to be angry? And he said, I do well to be angry, even unto death.*

Christian teaching is not irrelevant, simply because we dismiss as preposterous the notion that, on September 11, God was the hijackers' co-pilot. God does not shield his creatures from the malevolent exercise of free will. "Do you suppose that these Galileans were worse sinners than all *other* Galileans, because they suffered such things? Or those eighteen on whom the tower in Siloam fell and killed them, do you think that they were worse sinners than all *other* men who dwelt in Jerusalem?"

"I tell you no," said Jesus, "but unless you repent you will all likewise perish."

As it is true that the acts of terrorists befall everyone, it is no less true that there are reasons for everyone to repent, in this context most notably Osama bin Laden, but also Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, and yes, even members of the Supreme Court.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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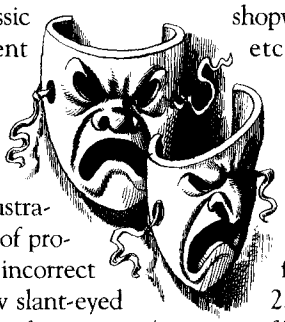
■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

In my February 19 column, I wrote, "I can't shake my sense that the Bush presidency is star-crossed," but I never thought female intuition would be this accurate.

As soon as it happened, so many commentators called it "our second Pearl Harbor" that my mind drifted back to our first one. I was not quite six in 1941, so my memory of specific events is sketchy, but the general emotional flavor is engraved on my mind as a classic example of my family's bent dynamic.



My passive father didn't want to go to war and my aggressive mother ached to. As usual, she relieved her frustration with dazzling cascades of profanity, rattling off politically incorrect fivefers such as "little yellow slant-eyed pissant bastards!" She spent four years yelling, "We oughta blow 'em off the map!" and when we did, she cut the photo of the mushroom cloud out of the paper, pasted it over the serenely pastoral "Cottage at Sunset" illustration on our kitchen calendar, and yelled, "Little yellow slant-eyed pissant bastards, BOOM!"

Always sports-minded, toward the end of her life she became, of all things, a sumo-wrestling fan. Thinking she had mellowed with age, I reminded her of her Pearl Harbor sentiments and asked her what she now found different about sumo wrestlers. She thought a minute and then said, "They're not little."

She would be in her element if she were here today. Saber-rattling jingoism is in the air. Stores are selling out of flags, the national anthem is being sung in artsy venues like Washington Square, and there is even talk of issuing war bonds. Enlistments are up, the old knee-jerk caution, "another Vietnam," has faded away, and college boys sound more and more like hard hats as they describe in sanguinary detail what they would like to do to Osama bin Laden.

We are intent on infusing our Second Pearl Harbor with the same unequivocal bloodlust that marked the first—but it won't work. We have been in a psychological lockbox too long and the conflicts that put us there have not gone away for good. They'll resurface, as unresolved conflicts always do, and thrust us back into the same old moral paralysis we were in before.

Most of these conflicts come into view when we couple the new, soon-to-be clichés that have poured from the media since last Tuesday with the familiar, shopworn clichés that were already etched on the national brain before last Tuesday. A few examples will illustrate the emotional taffy-pull we are in for:

1. "Do whatever it takes" vs. "Put it behind us and move forward."
2. "Hunt them down" vs. "police profiling."
3. "terrible swift judgment" vs. "judgmentalism."
4. "righteous wrath" vs. "anger management."
5. "steely resolve" vs. "seek professional help."

Helpists are the keepers of the keys to our psychological lockbox, so it was only to be expected that they would move quickly to defend their turf against any stirrings of steeliness. I saw my first grief counselor on TV bright and early Wednesday morning. A bottle blonde with plangent eyes and a voice made glottal by earnestness, she made me feel as if something hot and wet were crawling all over me. She held forth on how to explain terrorism to "the chillldrunnn." After her came a deluge of grief counselors, including one who lured a sturdy fireman into talking about "survivor guilt," opening the way for the grief counselor to proclaim that victims of terrorism include not only victims and their families, but their rescuers as well.

The Helpist goal of total victimhood produces a mind-set that works against the waging of total war. Since Helpists can't function until something awful has happened, they are more concerned with "aftermaths" than with actual events. For years they have been all over TV assuring us that life is just one big time-lag, that reaction is more important than action, that post-traumatic is worse than traumatic, and that anger is just another "stage" in the "grieving process," waiting its turn in line with denial, guilt, and resignation.

We bought into victimology, and now we are caught between two diametrically opposed rallying cries. Helpists trained us to say "Give me closure," but now we must revert overnight to "Give me liberty or give me death," or else go the schizoid route and adopt both.

That's not as hard as it sounds; we are entirely capable of adopting two of anything. Even as we assured each other that the attacks "brought us together," concerns about anti-Arab bigotry sprang up so fast and absorbed so much of the media's attention that sometimes it almost seemed as if the Twin Towers had been relegated to the status of collateral damage. The subject spilled over into obsession on CNN's extended Saturday edition of *Talk Back Live*. Most of the audience were idealistic twentysomethings who could not discuss Arab terrorists without getting into police profiling, until it was hard to tell what, exactly, the show was about. Their considered opinion, however, was perfectly clear: It's okay to hunt people down provided you have no idea what they look like.

I have saved our most serious conflict for last. Benjamin Netanyahu has written that militant Islam does not "hate the West because of Israel; they hate Israel because of the West." The Muslim world, he explained, has never forgotten the Moorish cultural penetration of Europe and the glory days of Saladin. Once, "Muslim" was synonymous with "civilization," but Europeans destroyed it all and made "civilization" synonymous with themselves. As a result, the words "Western civilization" are anathema to Muslim fanatics like bin Laden.

They are also anathema to many here. Jesse Jackson led chants of "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Western Civ has got to go," and multiculturalists have done their best to eliminate it from college curricula, but we let them all get away with it. Before we declare war on bin Laden we should stop declaring war on ourselves. **NR**

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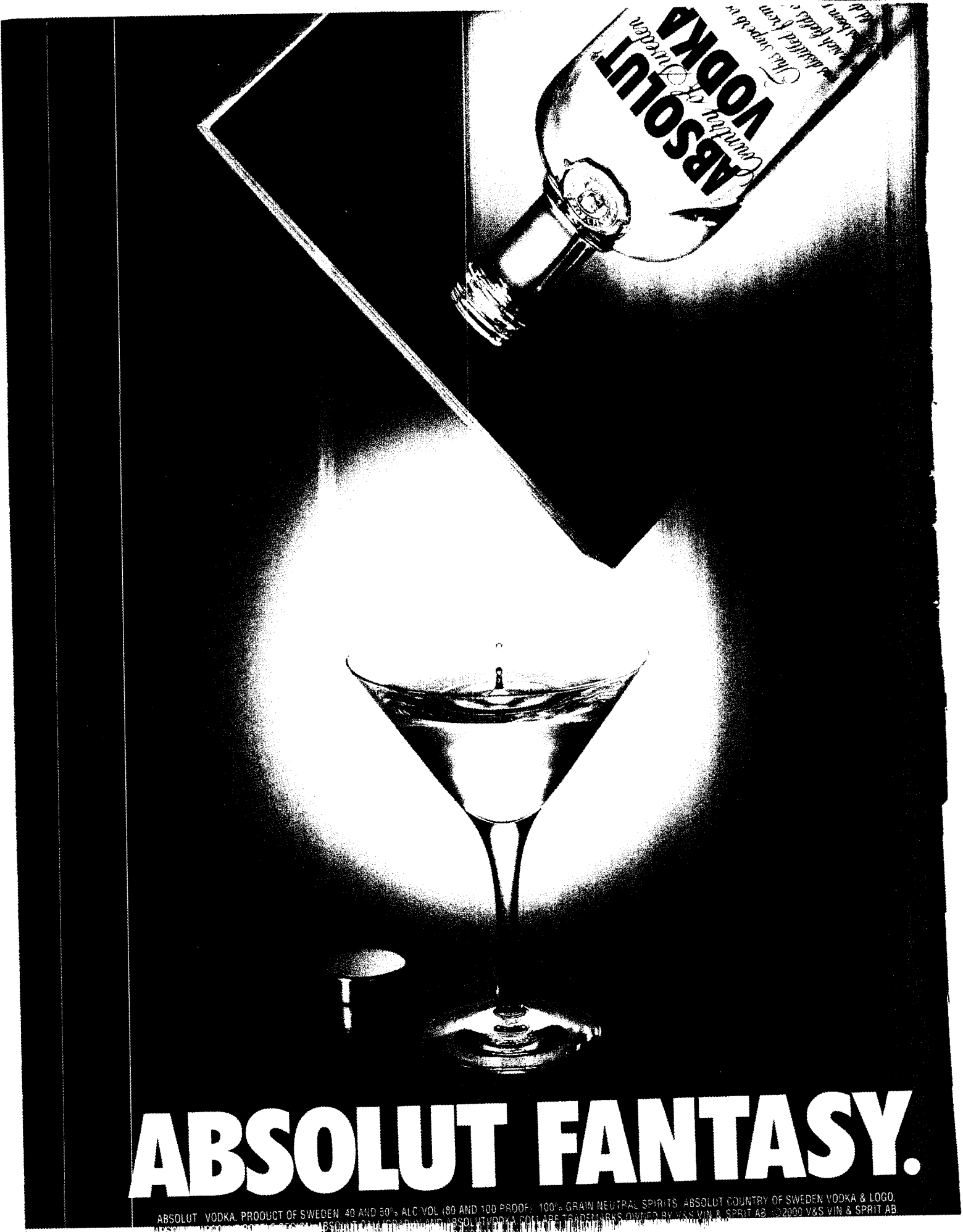
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